ANTHROPOLOGICAL RECORDS

CEREMONIAL PAINT PATTERNS

302

YOKUTS: CHUNUT

YOKUTS: WUKCHUMNI

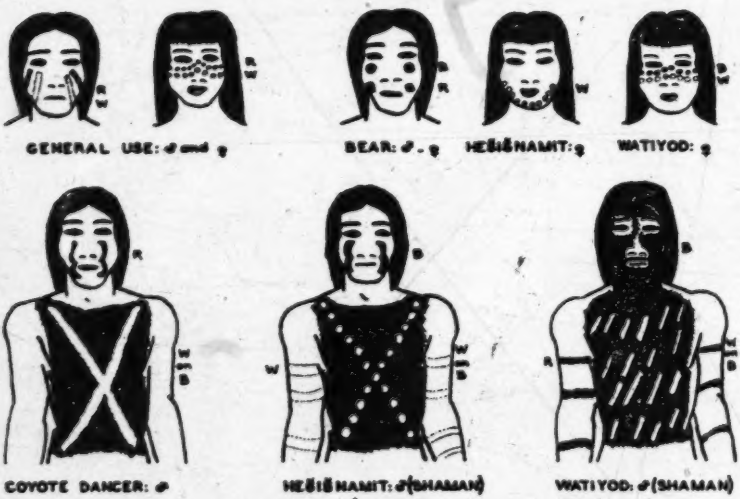

Fig. 4. Yokuts ceremonial paint patterns: Chunut and Wukchumni.

[P.21a]

Balsa Construction

50 The balsa, made of triangular tule, was called tule boat (pumuk o'wan). It was made in three sections, a long central bundle and two smaller, fatter, lateral ones which formed slightly raised sides. Tules cut for the purpose were laid out on the ground or on ramada tops to dry.

An average-sized balsa held comfortably six people and their traveling possessions. [516] Everyone sat cross-legged. When there was more than one passenger a man poled at each end, the two men poling on opposite sides. The pole, of willow, was called owo'wɨn ai'yai according to the Chunut, J.A., but sa'hat according to the Tachi, M.G. Paddles of wood were not used. Women never poled unless necessary. The making of balsas and poling were men's work, as was the gathering of tule roots. The Tachi informant [524] said children would have crude little balsas of their own or would sit astride a large bunch of bundles tules when playing in the water.

Painting

● 302 Painting was a favorite form of ceremonial ornamentation with people of the valley and lake region. The general word for paint was otsoi'amin. The colors were black (ka'lyan) [386] made from charcoal, red (hoi''iyu) obtained in trade from the mountains, and white (ho'sot) made from burned shell (but at another time said to be white clay). All these were pulverized in little mortars and mixed with grease for application. Several patterns were de- 302 veloped as symbolic of the wearer's totem animal (fig. 4). The pictures call for certain 825 comment. Coyote (kai'yu) had black about the mouth. Crow (ka'nkas) had black dots over the entire face. Sandhill Crane (u'lats) had white covering the entire right side of the face. Eagle (ṭo'hɨl) had two short black lines extending diagonally outward from the eyes and, about the lower neck and shoulder plane, a band of solid white which represented the bald eagle's white neck and at the same time was thought of as Eagle's sacred talismans of eagle-down rope. "Chicken Hawk" (su'hup) had long black lines representing tears from the inner corners of the eye to the sides of the mouth: "he cried all the time because he was lonesome." Cooper's Hawk (poi'yon) had similar black "tears" and two vertical white lines on the chin. Antelope (soi'yol) had two black lines radiating widely from the eyes. Prairie Falcon (li'mɨk) had three parallel oblique stripes on each cheek, white, black, white, and tied his hair up in a special kind of "screw" on the top of the head. J.A. knew of no Bear pattern.

302 White stripes and spots were made on the body just as one wished. J.A. said a person

302 could paint his face any way he liked if he did not want to follow a totemic pattern. After ceremonial washing a man's face was covered with red paint; sometimes a little white paint was put on a woman.

The following information is from Mr. E.W. Gifford, who kindly put his data on Tachi moieties at my disposal.

302 616 [824] The Tachi employed moiety face paints. The toxelyuwic painted a "pink" stripe of wild rose-bush powder[48] from the edge of the hair on the forehead down to the tip of the nose, and a horizontal stripe under each eye. A small black spot was added under each horizontal stripe of pink.

The nutuwuts moiety painted the right side of the face solid white, the left solid black. No spots were added.

It seems probable that the informant who gave these data described patterns characteristic of some animal (lineage totem) associated with each moiety. There is no suggestion of specific moiety patterns from any informants of [613] moiety-divided tribes. The lineage is the essential unit; but if forced to characterize moieties, an informant will choose some important animal (lineage totem) of each, most frequently Coyote and Eagle. Without further detail being given, it would appear that all persons of one moiety or the other had these animals as totems. I believe it is thus with the two paint patterns described to Gifford: that the informant oversimplified.

Money Manufacture

436 321 [439] The shells for money were obtained whole from the Tokya (Chumash, Salinan, or other coastal people to the west). By laying them on a rock and giving them a sharp blow with a stone held in the hand, they were broken up into several parts, which were again cracked into smaller pieces by the same method. Each piece was given a circular shape by rubbing down its edge on a large, flat, hard rock. The [412] discs were then drilled by means of a drill (wa'lai) of bone which was imbedded in the end of a button willow stick. The palm of the left hand,[49] gummed with fish glue, rolled the drill [237] on the left thigh while the right hand pressed the disc against the rotating tip.

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[48] Concerning the possible derivation of this powder Professor H.L. Gardner, of the University of California, writes me (Gifford): "There is a fungus growing on certain species of roses which causes distortions in the branches of the rose, such distortions being filled with masses of orange colored spores. It is barely possible that these might make a temporary pigment."

[49] Practices with the left and right hands are uncertain with this informant, who is herself left-handed.

[P. 416] Tachi Chowut

535 not always have words"; they probably were of
517 the "hai ´ya hai ´ya" variety. Both sexes joined
574 in the dancing. The women wore eagle-down strings around their hair. The men wore the ceremonial feather skirt (tuhu´n) if they could get one, and painted their faces with stripes
●[302] or spots of black and white. There were no special paint patterns for this dance. ^

No description of the dance steps was obtained, but J.A. made it clear that the dancing was not a group affair. A few men and women would dance at a time, which seems comparable to such pleasure dances as we know from the Wukchumni. There were no names for the dances: they were referred to as plain dance (hu´nai hati´m) or "little dance half the night" (wi´ti hati´m tu´pan toi´no).

[554] Although the chief's house was larger than others, the cooking, eating, and dancing took place outside.

535 At another time J.A. made brief reference
616 to a similar affair which she called "plain fandango" (hu´nai lonu´iwis). This involved a moiety division (in eating and dancing?) but it was not reciprocal, i.e., the moieties did not align as host and guest. It was held any time of year. A large meal was eaten, dancing continued all night, in the morning the participants swam, ate breakfast, and dispersed. Paint was worn for this "dance."

Gifford, in his data on Tachi moieties, gives a bit of information which may be pertinent here.

> Two dances in which ... paints were used were mentioned. One of them, called toxeliwiš hatama, was danced by shamans (anču) of the toxelyuwiš moiety. A second dance, called kikitwi, was described as a round dance and was said to have been originated by the nutuwuts moiety. In its performance, however, some tokelyuwiš usually participated with the nutuwuts dancers...
>
> At a feast each moiety prepared and served the food for the opposite moiety. A feast of this sort was held in 1913, two years before my visit.

Tachi Ceremonies

114 The following Tachi information from M.G. seems unsound in large part, no doubt owing to misunderstanding by the interpreters and myself. It is given as recorded. As mentioned above,
[766] the mourning ceremony was a distasteful topic
[152] and only the least "mournful" parts were spoken of.

756 The Shamans' Contest was known to all the plains people: "Wolasi, Telamni, everyone had heŵaš." It was performed in the summertime toward the conclusion of a mourning ceremony. A winatum got the doctors together, he got them from Čiau (Kingston, a Nutunutu village) and from the Wechihit. M.G. saw this at Čiau. The Wechihit were on one side and some Wuk-

^[i.e., pleasure dancers. - Analyst]

T Y 756

gently over S.G.'s head and body, working downward, and blew on his skin while it was still damp. Her curing paraphernalia she kept in a little net sack.

GHOST DANCE OF 1870

T Y 796 66

At the time of the Ghost Dance F.M. was living at Tule rancheria. Along with everyone else, he walked up to Eshom Valley for the great dance there. A Yaudanchi winatum, Ino'lya, told them to go up there because the dead were going to return. The messenger went on with his news to Sototlo, on southward to Bakersfield, and up Poso Creek.

At Eshom Valley, F.M. learned that the news had been brought from Dunlap. Of the singers who were there only Samson Dick is now alive; they did not teach their songs to anyone else [sic].

When they returned to Tule they had a dance of their own which lasted six days; this was the largest ever held in the southern part of the valley. They circled to the left; there were no prayers, "just songs." People painted their faces: popular patterns were, for men, two parallel horizontal lines of black and white across the upper cheek, a[illegible]r women, two or three vertical rows of t[illegible]white, and red dots below the eyes. Body [illegible]g was not done. They danced all night, s[illegible]daybreak, and rested during the day while [illegible] singers practised.

T Y [302]

No dance was held at Sototlo, "it was too small a place." But "everyone" in the southern end of the valley came to this dance at Tule. Many people, especially those of Fort Tejon, came to live there permanently after the Ghost Dance episode.

their construction were all unintelligible. M.L., now blind, said that the Wukchumni and Patwisha, but not the Gawia, had a moccasin called wonka´da. It had two seams and a "piece up the front" (a tongue?). The Yaudanchi bought ready-made moccasins from the Eastern Mono. These had a seam up the toe-front and tied in front at the ankle; they were called ča´k·t (M.S. did not know their Mono name).

Men ordinarily wore the hair long and parted in the middle; they did not wear bangs. When it proved a nuisance at work, it was tied at the nape of the neck with a length of string or leather thong. Yaudanchi men, on dress occasions, tied their hair in a "club" at the nape of the neck with an eagle-down string (ča´yi); this arrangement was called a´pati. In hunting, the hair was knotted and held in place with wooden skewers.

A hair net was not used on ordinary occasions, but as a foundation for feather head ornaments with ceremonial dress. It was not used by women. Of fairly fine mesh, 1 to 2 inches to a taut loop, it was rectangular, roughly 12 to 15 inches wide and 30 to 40 inches long. There was a definite way of putting it on (fig. 7). With the hanging hair pushed into a cluster at the back of the neck, the net was laid lengthwise over the head so that the front end hung over the face to the

Fig. 7. Method of donning hair net. a, net laid on with flap over face. b, flap gripped in teeth, hair and net twisted together. c, twist wrapped around head. d, end tucked in and flap rolled back over twist.

302 tip of the chin. This piece was grasped with the teeth, while the end at the back was pulled from each side around the hanging hair and, enclosing the hair, twisted into a long roll. Twisted as tightly as possible, the roll was pulled up over the left ear and forward across the peak of the forehead, around the right ear, and the end of the roll, which was net rather than hair, was pinned in place with a bone or wooden skewer. The hanging flap in front was raised and tucked in over and back of the roll over the forehead (fig. 7, d). Ornaments were fastened to this with skewers. The Wukchumni seem to be the southern limit for the hair net: [171] the Yaudanchi did not use it (M.S.; S.G.), although tribes to the north, including the Miwok, did.

301 It is said that in old times every man had at least one ear lobe pierced. On ordinary oc-
304 casions a little wooden or cane pipe was carried there. For dress an elaborate ear ornament called po', made of quail crests and a single hawk feather bound to a slender stick or cane, was thrust in the lobe with the quill pointing forward. Sometimes just a quill was worn, especially a greased quill when the hole had first been made; this, too, was called po' (M.P.). Women also used these ornaments.

In the Central Foothill region all men who had drunk jimsonweed, and many others as well, had the nasal septum pierced. A tubular bead (huma´na) some three inches long was worn in it on dress occasions (J.P.). This does not agree with Kroeber's information, that only women had the nasal septum pierced.[162]

292 An article of dress worn most frequently by messengers but also used by other men was a
28| long pouch made of a whole ground-squirrel skin
[202] with fur left on, or sometimes of a small fox skin. It was worn at the left side-back with the neck or open end pulled up and hanging out over the belt. A messenger carried money in it, an ordinary man his small talismans or trinkets of value. It was put under the neck at night as a pillow and for its protection.

291 Women's dress.--Women also wore a buckskin
28| breechclout. There was no distinction in the cut save that a woman's might be somewhat longer; it was held in place with a similar belt. The clout was not necessarily donned un-
[681] til first menses, although most girls approaching puberty wore the "grass" aprons.

Over the breechclout women wore a back and front apron of shredded fibres, the back one longer and coarser (ču´niš, Wukchumni; ṭo´hot, Yaudanchi). The inner bark of willow, cut,
291 dried, and pounded as for string, was used by Wukchumni, Gawia, Telamni, and Yaudanchi.[163]
286 The Wukchumni, Gawia, and Telamni, like the lake people, made aprons of tule fibre if

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[162] Handbook, 519.

[163] Yaudanchi, from Kroeber, ibid.

291 available. Large tules were pulled into strips;
286 they and whole small tules were pounded with a wooden stick on rock (usually the bedrock mortar where good working space was provided) until softened and pliable. Any of these materials, when made into aprons, was twined along one edge with willowbark string (ša'). One row of twining held the fibres together; a second, below the first, included the bent-over ends which had been turned down on the outside. Both rows of twining continued into a twisted two-strand belt. When asked why two aprons were made rather than one continuous skirt, M.L. said the back "wore out too fast"; hence the replaceable sections.

292 On dress occasions aprons of deerskin (ki'n·p) were worn, sometimes put on over the fibre aprons (fig. 8, b). The front apron of deerskin was edged with deer hoofs which rattled prettily. Not all women could afford these. M.L. spoke proudly of having such an apron which her mother had made for her first puberty ceremony. Women whose husbands were poor hunters or had other vocations bought deerskin and hoofs for themselves.

291 The basket cap (waki'ñuts) was always
285 coiled, of a shape similar to the small individual mush basket. It was used only when
[482] carrying a heavy load with the tumpline (M.P.). While the cap is said to have been invariably coiled, a museum specimen (U.C. 1/2958; no provenience other than Yokuts) is a small, diagonally twined "bowl" (7-1/2"x 8" diameter at rim, 4-3/4" deep), palpably old and undoubtedly a cap. Its rim is bound with buckskin and is patched with buckskin at a point where a tumpline would have worn it. It is patterned with a wide band of double zigzag at the edge and a band of single zigzag near the base. There is no other piece like it in the Yokuts collection and it is presumably introduced from an outside source, possibly Miwok or Pomo. The attempt to preserve it by repair even suggests that it might have been valued because of its oddity among the Yokuts.

301 Ear ornaments (po') were differentiated from men's only by having two long strands of beads added; they were then called yau'wakan.

302 Women's hair was long save during the
[765] period of active mourning, when it was singed close to the head if grief were deep, to the shoulders for a lesser bereavement. Like men's it was parted in the middle and, at work, was tied at the nape of the neck, but the front hair was usually singed off to form bangs. Both sexes washed the hair with soaproot suds and
[237 brushed it with soaproot brushes.
381] On special occasions eagle down was stuck on the bangs and fore hair with soaproot glue.
292 An ornamental headband (hoči'n) worn by women was woven of fine milkweed string by the usual "sewing" technique for belts and had beads introduced to form a diagonal pattern. The band was 2 to 3 inches wide, long enough almost to

292 encompass the head, and tied with strings at the back of the head. These strings were sometimes wound around the hair which had been pulled into a bunch at the nape.

Personal care.--Both sexes brushed the 302 hair daily with a soaproot brush. Men would do 515 this in the morning if they had no immediate work. Women more often brushed and arranged their hair in the early afternoon after returning from seed-gathering, pounding acorns, or other arduous work. For washing hair, chips of [368] dried soaproot were put in a large basket of warm water. This was done at the creekside if possible and the hair was rinsed in running water. Normally the hair was not washed while swimming.

754 Both sexes took care in the disposal of hair which, if found by a malicious shaman or by an evil person who would take it to a shaman, could be used for contagious magic. (How this was accomplished M.L. could not say.) Women hid their hair combings until a large bunch had collected, then took this to a spring of water where it was buried under a stone. To do this not only ensured safety from magic but aided the hair on the head by causing it to grow [826] more luxuriantly. Combings were not burned because this would cause the living hair to fall out prematurely. Menstruants scratched the [841] head with a stick; otherwise the hairs would split and fall out.

Spittle was covered over to protect it from shamans.

Nail "parings" (if any) were not protected. 826 Some people tore off nails but most kept them ground down by rubbing them on a small water-rolled stone. A woman, particularly an old one, might let a left thumb- or big-toenail grow excessively. This served as an instrument in shelling nuts, seeds, splitting basket materials, or even as a personal weapon. When such a nail broke off, it was left anywhere.

M.L. recounted the following of her maternal grandmother who had a long toenail.

826 One of Ju''ulneš' daughters had married a 539 man who was a reckless gambler. He lost everything. Then he played the chip and pole game with a man, bet his wife as the stake, and lost her. The men became angry and began to fight. The old woman, looking on, was very mad at her son-in-law whom she already despised as worthless. She grabbed some ropes of ča and [presumably with the help of the man's opponent] succeeded in tying up the culprit. Then Ju'ulneš picked up some stones and hit him. As he fell she kicked him and cut his penis with her long toenail. She was so pleased with her success that she kept her nail long thereafter.

Ceremonial dress.--The fundamental parts 292 of ceremonial regalia, usually worn by shamans when engaged in public dances or rituals, were the feather headdress and feather skirt. Additional ornaments of feathers, skins, beads,

[text continues on p. 69]

292 and shells added to the effect.[164] Such dress was not exclusively a shaman's but might be owned by any person who had need of it, for [426] instance, a singer. Men borrowed shirts and hats when participating in dances or ceremonies.

The feather skirt was called čo´ñiš (M. 292 and M.P.), like the woman's fibre apron.[165] 237 This was composed of strands of string into which owl down had been twisted. Each strand was tipped with a flicker (šipoi´´ɨts) feather. The skirt had a belt of its own from which the strands were suspended, but over this was worn another belt with beads woven into it (koikoi).

The headdress had two parts. The central part (ču) was an upright bunch of magpie tail feathers, surrounded at its base with white owl feathers; and, next, a thickset buttress of short black crow wing feathers. The second part (se´ma) was a fat fluffy crown of black or white owl breast feathers. The one pictured was of pure white and brushed lightly with red paint.[166]

In the ear lobes were worn falcon quills 293 (po') surrounded with quail crests. 237

Necklaces (walat) of small disc beads, the long humana beads, and abalone pendants were worn.

A bandoleer of koikoi carried eagle-feather pendants. Such little bunches of feathers, eagle or flicker, would hang from the neck or down the back, or swing from the wrists and upper arms of a doctor in full dress. A bandoleer of flicker quills was a rare prized ornament.

Around each wrist were weaselskin bands (sau´nɨt). These carried special supernatural power. Weaselskin bands or bunches of feathers were often fastened below each knee. There were no ankle ornaments, and the feet were unshod.

Ornament

386 Paint.---Three colors of paint were used by 302 the Wukchumni and Gawia, as among other Yokuts. The red paint (ho´yɨn, J.B., M.L.; red color, pači´kan, J.B.) was an earth obtained at Wa´wun between Badger and Aukland. It turned red when burned (possibly yellow ocher or cin- [177] nabar). Red paint was not newly introduced at the Ghost Dance (as claimed by Powers) (J.B.). Black paint (kadi´an) was a grey earth which [757] turned black when burned. It was used as a salve for sore eyes and rectum. White paint

[164] The following description and reconstruction is fig. 8, d, are based on a photograph of M.P.'s uncle which I was not permitted to have copied. M.P. described each item of the costume as she recalled it.

[165] Kroeber gives chehum; see Handbook, 508, pl. 42.

[166] See also, ibid., 508, fig. 44; and Holmes, pl. 35, wherein is shown a shaman's head net, feather headpieces, ear ornaments, hairpin, and shell-trimmed bandoleer.

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386 (hoso ´ša, J.B.; hošo ´hɨt, M.L.; white color, čau ´ded, J.B.) was made of pulverized shells. All paints were mixed with grease for application.

302 Differences in the use of paint by men and women lay only in the method of application. The same patterns were used by both, but the solid line of pigment used by men was broken up into a line of dots by women. Red paint was smeared lightly over the face when a woman was going to end the meat tabu after pregnancy or bereavement. Any woman taking part in a dance might put on red paint this way and then add a horizontal row of white dots on each cheek.
[822] Both sexes used red and white paint, but black paint was associated with doctoring. Men with Crow totem used it, as did Bear and Coyote totemites on occasion. A doctor, when at-
[741] tired for a pleasure dance or display, covered his face with black paint and his body with short white diagonal stripes. Wukchumni patterns are shown in figure 4.

Paint was not used as insignia by chiefs, messengers, singers, or, in fact, by anyone. It was assumed only for dance, ritual, or gala occasion (J.B., M.L.).

304 Tattooing.---Many women used tattooing as a permanent form of personal decoration. It was done of their own volition, usually in young womanhood but before marriage. The only motivation, other than vanity, was the belief
[827] that it prevented one from getting old and wrinkled. (M.P.). Young girls who were close friends often had themselves tattooed at the same time. Only one form of tattooing had religious significance; this was a small pattern placed on the inside of the right forearm just above the wrist. Only a few examples of this type were observed, on two Yokuts women and two Western Mono men. This spot is said to

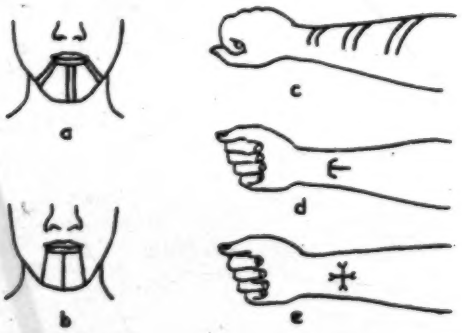

Fig. 9. Women's tattoo marks. a, c, Wukchumni (M.L.). b, d, Telamni (T.W.). e, Wukchumni (M.P.).

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P. 799] Wukchumni

412 nobby upper end by capping it with boiled soaproot and tying over this a piece of buckskin.
322 Weights were never added.

The soaproot brush (čəne ʔəl) varied in size from small ones some 4 inches long to large ones of 9 inches.[192] They were used variously for brushing up meal when preparing foodstuffs, or for brushing the hair. Hair-
[302] brushes were large and made of coarse fibres which have hook-like tips. One in a family was sufficient. The root to make a brush was dug after the flower had faded when the fibres around the root had reached a maximum toughness. The plant's top was torn off and the fibres carefully removed from around the bulb. The bulb was boiled in water until it became a plastic cream-colored mass. The fibres having been arranged as a brush and so tied, the bulb mass was pressed and shaped over the end as a handle and tied in place with several wrappings
[314] of string. The liquid from the bulb was viscous and was applied to burden baskets and cradles, where it dried as a practically colorless stiffener.

415 The set of rock lifters consisted of a pair of straight sticks and a looped one. The looped lifter, commonly called mushstirrer because one must necessarily stir about in the mush to find the cooking stones, was made of a peeled withelike stick, heated over coals and then bent around the foot to form a loop. The double handle thus formed was tied with a milkweed string or with a thong (see pl. 1, right verticals). Wild grapevine withes were used for a light type of lifter which was peeled, looped, and tied while still green and flexible. Two sticks from Drum Valley are made of bent young oak and, according to the collector's notes, are tied with the inner bark of oak.[193] Although these looped sticks were used to extract cooking stones from food which was being boiled, the hot stones were lifted in with a pair of pine sticks flattened out at one end. As these were often charred they were not allowed to touch the food, and hot rocks to which ashes clung were dipped in water on their
[439] way into the food. The best hot-rock lifters were of pine and were bought from the Eastern Mono, who made them for trade. A medium-sized basket (8 to 12 inches in diameter) of simple flaring type was considered a suitable payment in return.

285 The "set" of baskets comprised six types
482 essential for food-gathering, preparation, and cooking. (See figs. 2 and 3.) The large conical burden basket (a ʔaš) was of split willow. It was diagonally twined, of close work, and was stiffened with soaproot liquor. Because of

[192] Those collected by Dr. Barrett and now in the University of California Museum of Anthropology.

[193] University of California, Museum of Anthropology, nos. 1-10846, 1-10848; Dr. S.A. Barrett, collector; cf. Kroeber, Handbook, fig. 38.

286 was being formed. The process was continued as far as desired, say some 3 feet, bringing the worked part to within about 2 feet of the ends. The very loose twisting there permitted the 8 cords (of the 4 doubled warp cords) to be laid side by side, and the weft cord was drawn through the original turns in these two-ply cords, making a finer but equally broad textile (fig. 13, f). This continued for 6 or 8 inches; then the weft cord was broken off at a length equal to that of the warp cords. There were then 9 strands which were grouped into threes, braided together to the end, and tied with a couple of final knots.

At the opposite or closed end were the loops which had been left in the cleft stick at the start. A weft cord was inserted a few turns below this, then worked up, turn by turn, until the beginning of the loop was reached. From here on the weft was carried through the original turns in the 2-ply cord, as at the other end, until the loop was woven solid. When finished, this loop was about 3/4 of an inch wide, the band itself about 1-1/2 inches. The loop end was fastened to the carrying net by means of the cord rings, as mentioned above. The free end of the tumpline was tied to the opposite cord ring of the net and adjusted as need demanded.

[302] Headnets were made of fine milkweed twine, presumably by the same technique as the coarser carrying net. The only one seen was a Choinimni specimen made of grocer's string.

286 291 Belts were worn by both sexes for supporting the breechclout, a plain variety for ordinary use, a beaded form for gala dress. The technique was the same "sewing" process, but the looped end was cut open and the ends grouped in threes and braided as at the loose end. The fancy belt was made of the finest milkweed cord. The weft thread carried a clamshell disk bead at each point between the warp (see fig. 13, g). Such a belt was called koikoi''ič, in reference to the beads.

283 Sinew string (pik:t) was made only by men. Its most notable use was for bowstrings; other uses were the feathering of arrows and fastening of arrowpoints, the tying parts of fish spears and harpoons, wrapping feathers on earplugs, sewing hide, tying the umbilicus stump. For the method of manufacture see Michahai-Waksachi (Pt. II).

Basketry

285 [12] Practically no information on basketmaking was taken, since the art was in no danger of extinction and it was hoped that some investigator would undertake its special study. Yokuts basketry technique was highly refined, and the Wukchumni today still produce some of the finest examples. Some general remarks on Yokuts basketry are made by Kroeber, and their

535 ated it from all other pleasure dances, cannot be said, as no informant could give the necessary details. For no ascertainable reason it is referred to in English as the "war dance." J.B.'s account follows.

Tepo´sa, a Wowol, and another man named Ana´ki, danced this at times of celebration, particularly at the close of a mourning ceremony. "It was only done at a very big fandango. Bob Bautista danced this any time to make money but that wasn't done in the old days."

The dancers wore the regulation feather skirt and headdress. Teposa had his face painted entirely black; Anaki had one-half his face [302] black, the other side white. Both men had their bodies covered with short horizontal white stripes. Two singers accompanied them, [533] Ka´tai and Yawa´umi; they were Teposa's sister's sons.

535 When it was the appointed time after a mourning ceremony for a dance, such as the kam, 574 several dancers from visiting tribes would take turns performing for an hour or so. In this way a keen sense of competition was created and the dancers catered to an appreciative audience.

535 The dancers who participated in the all-
765 night dance after a mourning ceremony were al-
[756] ways doctors, according to J.P. They would be sought from among the visitors, as would be the singers. There would be four to six men dancers who stood in a row, while one woman only stood in front of them. Whatever woman was asked for this role had to comply, and she would be given about ten cents (a half hista of bead money) for doing it. "If she didn't know how to dance, she just stood there until she got her money and then ran off."

533 The singers used clapper accompaniment
534 (the cocoon rattle was used only for the Bear
765 Dance and Snake Ritual). There were three or four of them. One man sat beside them and collected the money for the dancers and singers; a man who did this was termed winatum for the
541 time being. J.P. said that in the old days "when the money was beads, it was so piled up you couldn't carry it off in a blanket."

When a chief wanted to make money he would collect some dancers and singers and visit other villages, or often the performers themselves would go without a chief's sponsorship. Of course, they could not give an entertainment at any place visited without having the permission of the chief of that place. When a chief accompanied them as "manager," he collected the money and distributed it among the performers. The singers were invariably paid "because it is hard work to sing all night."

552 The name "war dance," which has become
535 attached to this shamans' pleasure dance (kam or watiyod), J.P. regards as entirely due to white persons' misunderstanding. No fight or

552 hostile intention was ever associated with this
536 dance in practice or by tradition.

Watiyod

552 The wa'tiyod was a dance performed by
756 shamans for the entertainment of onlookers and for making money for themselves. Usually two or more women participated. The accompanying
[534] singers used the clapper (taowed). The dance could be made at any place at any season. While it was wholly profane in character, it was, nevertheless, performed only by doctors.

J.B.'s account is localized at Šiyedu, a Wukchumni seed-gathering camp.

This dance was done by Watišti (Watisti) and his mother Boyiwan (Poi'on).[266] This was the only "pleasure" dance they made and the only dance performed at the camp called Šiyedu. It was done every month or so, "whenever the doctor wanted to make a little money, or somebody else, like the tia'a, asked him to." Men, women, and children assembled to watch.

Watisti wore the vertical feather and feather wreath headdress, a feather skirt, and carried feather bunches (wač'am) in each hand.
[302] His face was painted entirely black, and short perpendicular alternating black and white stripes covered his torso. Black and white stripes encircled his arms and legs.

Poi'on, who danced with him, had eagle
[303] down glued across her forehead, wore a deerskin apron, and carried hand feathers. Her face bore alternate stripes of black and white running obliquely from beneath the eyes to the edge of the jawbone. Her body was unpainted.

535 Their accompanist was Ponato (Bill Gar-
533 field), who "always sang at Šiyedu." He wore no paint or ornaments, merely carrying his elderwood clapper. Beside him was a basketry tray on which spectators deposited small sums of money as payment. The singer received one-half the total amount.

Both dancers sang in unison with the singer. The man's step was the usual stamping with high-lifted knees. Although he remained nominally in the same place, he turned about facing this way and that at will. The woman kept her feet parallel, close together, and took sidewise jumps, moving her hands in unison and in the same direction as her feet. She covered more ground than her partner, although her movements were less facile.

The performance began at dark of a summer evening, about eight o'clock, and might continue until midnight. Each dance unit lasted three to five minutes, during which time the singer repeated the same song two or three times. Then there would be a rest, and then again another song and dancing for a few

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[266] See the Bankalachi account of these people who were "southerners" living at Šiyedu.

[P. 1179] Wk Kchumai

535 minutes. When the dancer wanted his singer to
533 start or stop, he held his hand feathers out toward him. For each dance unit there was a new song although the steps remained the same.

J.B. was unable to repeat any of the songs, but he said their content dealt solely with the animal creatures who inhabited the world during the mythical prehuman era, they were all about Eagle, Coyote, Dove, etc. He did not think there was any defined order for the series of songs.

535 The informant M.L. used to participate in the watiyod as one of the female dancers along with her mother, mother's sister, and mother's brother. She said that nearly always the women would be some kin of the men performers. She described the affair as follows.

'This dance could be held at any time of year -- whenever a doctor wanted to make some money or was asked to perform. Usually it was an evening spectacle. The village winatum would build a fire at the dance space, a large one in winter, a small one in summer. Spectators brought tule mats and sat around to watch. They also brought a bit of money as payment, which was collected by the singer accompanists who shared in the profits.

535 Usually there were four or five men and four women participants. The men wore feather
302 skirts (ṭu'hun), bracelets and anklets of crow feathers, and each carried one large black quill in the right hand. Their bodies were painted with horizontal stripes of white. The women wore deerskin aprons (some of them trimmed with rattling deer hooves), bead necklaces, ear plugs, and carried a feather bunch in each hand. Their faces were covered with red paint and over it a horizontal row of white dots crossed the cheeks and nose.

535 Two or three singers sat at one side using
533 clappers. The doctors had their own songs, which the singers knew, and all sang together. And, said M.L., the women sang also in a loud shrill manner.

The dancers all stood in a row with two women taking the end positions. The men stamped heavily with each foot, swaying the feather quill back and forth, while the women jumped from side to side with feet clamped together, moving their feather bunches in unison with their feet. If a "tiya wanted a dancer to show off he would have his winatum call to him to step out of line and dance alone for a bit." A winatum could also call out mistakes made by the dancers. M.L. could not say what such errors might be other than getting out of step with one's companions. A singer might attract attention to a dancer's mistake by stopping his clapper, patting his hand against his mouth and uttering a loud ululatin "Ha-a-a-a," at which everybody laughed.

533 The songs were "all about animals." A few M.L. recalled appear below. She said the first

796 M.L.'s description of the Bear Dance was essentially the same. She was a participant along with her relatives -- her mother, mother's sister, her younger sister [cousin] and brother [cousin?] -- of whom her mother's brother, Tai´sus, was the leader. The chief at Diapnuša would send his winatum to Taisus saying it was time to hold the dance [sic].

796 237 [534] The male dancers wore whole bearskins fastened on their backs, but held nothing in their hands. The women merely wore the usual deerskin apron, ear plugs, etc., of dress occasions, and carried bunches of crow feathers in their hands. At one side were two singers who used rattles made of stiff deer hide tied over the end of a stick and containing a few pebbles. This type was used for no other dance.

The men held up their hands and, taking three hops forward, said "Xo'! xo'! xo'!" The women made no sound, but remained in one place with feather bunches raised, making little lifting motions with their heels.

796 533 539 Meanwhile the singers sang. Two of their songs follow:

1. so´nowau n:m luka´omao
storehouse my [place name]

(My storehouse is at Lukaomao)

2. wa´šo wa·ha·so· hu·še·me·hu
small basket small basket [futurity]

wa´šo ukun hus:m ñohõ´'õ na hus:m
small basket drink [futurity] Bear I
[futurity]

(I, Bear, will drink from my little acorn mush basket)

796 No matter how much the spectators wished to see the dance repeated, it could be done but once on each occasion, "they had to wait till next year."

The Yaudanchi probably had the same dance, as Kroeber attributes it to them and to the Choinimni.[270]

[302] [237] ...The two or three participants were painted entirely black, and were naked save for a headband of eagle down and a claw necklace, or a skin around the loins that had been taken from the animal they controlled. The dance was clearly mimetic. The feet were held together, the body leaned forward, the hands hung down. Gradually the doctors jumped to their song, growled, spread their fingers like claws, and leaped forward as if to seize a foe.

The Yaudanchi informant, M.S. of Moko village, categorically denied the Bear Dance

[270] Handbook, 517.

796 was dug, a log laid across it, and the doctors put their snakes in it. Two singers were present to sing "snake songs." Then the assembled onlookers walked to the pit, dipped a heel in the pit as they crossed the log, and threw in some money. The doctors did not participate in the "stepping rite."

796 522 237 [613] While the doctors were doing their preliminary dancing before picking up their snakes, Coyote clowns came upon the scene. There might be one or two of these, usually a brother and sister (or first cousins) of a Coyote lineage. The man wore a coyote-skin costume on his back, the head of which was so arranged that the nose was pulled far down over his own. He was painted with black about the [302] eyes and mouth. An artificial tail (M.L. could not say how this was made, but it was not the coyote-skin tail) was extended from his buttocks. This he could jerk about with obscene gestures. He carried a long stick.

796 522 Approaching the snake pit, he would run up and pretend to strike the reptiles. He would pretend the snake had bitten him, groan lavishly, and mimic the snake doctors' motions. When he became too boisterous, the chief would send his winatum with money to make him keep quiet. He would get in people's way, knocking about awkwardly with his long stick: people would pay him to desist. Then he would seize his sister (or cousin), pull her up to the [786] snake pit, and there lie down with her pretending to have intercourse. This caused the greatest amusement, as the incestuous implication added to the impropriety. When the clown pretended to be bitten by a snake, his sister would rush up to him and burlesque the curing-by-brushing motions of ṭ:pni people.

At Diapnuša it was M.L.'s son-in-law, his father, and father's sister who were of the Coyote lineage and performed the Coyote antics. M.L. had seen the same thing once at Dunlap where there were also male and female clowns; one of the women was probably J.W., a Wobonuch.

796 The doctors, of whom there were usually three or four, walked in line around the pit, followed by a group of boys and young men carrying sticks and singing. Each doctor took his snake from the pit and danced with it. First the head of the snake was held in the left hand, the tail in the right. A step left was taken, and the arms were extended a little upward and outward to the left. Then a step to the right was taken. At the same time, the right hand released the snake's tail, while the left, holding the head, passed the reptile behind the dancer's neck, where it was taken into the right hand. And with left hand now gripping the tail, the arms were extended upward and outward. The snake was now passed from right to left back of the neck. These two movements, complementing each other, were repeated over and over as the doctors filed around the pit, followed by the crowd of boys.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P. 147 a] Choinimni

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302 Both sexes wore the hair long, banged across the forehead by women, parted in the middle and held back with eagle-down cord by men. [304 Women tattooed their chins, and a few wore a 307] bone through the nasal septum; both sexes had pierced ears. Men plucked beard hairs with split-twig tweezers. The hair was brushed with a soaproot brush which had curved tips on its bristles. White paint put on over red paint was used ornamentally.[8]

286 A hairnet served as the foundation for feather head ornaments, the usual ču and sema, 301 but it was also used by any man who wanted his hair held compactly for practical purposes. P.D.W.'s net, made of grocery string, is now University of California Museum specimen no. 1-27001. The method of putting on the net is as described for the Central Foothill region and shown in figure 7, Part I.

MISCELLANEOUS DATA

481 Means of transport.---As with all Yokuts [868 dwelling upon the lakes, sloughs, rivers, and creeks of the San Joaquin Valley, the Choinimni were expert swimmers. Infants were immersed in icy waters before they were able to walk and learned to swim from that time. A swimmer in the San Joaquin used "a long overhand stroke."[9]

501 The Choinimni at Sycamore Creek made small tule rafts for use on the river near their village; these carried one or two persons.

The large barges of tule, made for the journey to Tulare Lake, were constructed in sloughs about ten miles downriver from Sycamore Creek. These were 50 feet long, of three long separate bundles bound with willow withes; the two outer ones were raised slightly as a sort of bulwark above the level of the center bundle. Each end of the boat was pulled up 2 to 3 feet higher than the deck. Along the center was piled all the equipment, which "included mortars and pestles, baskets of acorns, acorn bread, seeds, meat, skins for bedding [502 and many other things." Eight to ten persons, usually of one or two families, sat along the sides while four men stood and poled, though this was mainly for guidance as the river current carried the craft. The return trip was made toward summer while the river was still high enough so the boats could be poled upstream to the original point of departure. From there the dunnage was carried afoot up to the village at Sycamore Creek.[10]

482 According to Jeff Mayfield, the carrying [283 net of milkweed twine was used to support the conical burden basket on the back, though it is implied that this was done only with an excessively heavy load, such as acorns. Occasion-

[8] Ibid., 16, 17, 23, 26, 27, 38, 39, 40-42.

[9] Ibid., 29, 12.

[10] Ibid., 29-31, 37.

[P. 147b] Choinimni

482 [854] ally a basket cap was worn under the tumpline to ease the pressure, as was sometimes done when carrying a heavy child in a cradle.[11]

534 [237] Musical instruments.---The elderwood flute (u´tač) had four holes. Not many men could play it; P.D.W. thought one had to dream about it to become really adept. Two Choinimni experts at Kulušao were Kudu´ma and La'hai´yi. Samson Dick (Ya´ki) is the only person living now who can play well.[12] The hawk shinbone whistle (pu´sač) was held in the mouth while the musician executed dance steps. This kind of whistling is called wušinuha´o, the term applied to ordinary (European) whistling with pursed lips. The elderwood clapper (ta´wal) was used for most ceremonial accompaniments, the cocoon rattle (sa´nač) being reserved exclusively for doctor's shamanistic dancing and for the Bear Dance.

Beating upon a hollow log is reported by Mayfield.

202 [198] A short musical bow, twanged upon while one end was held in the mouth, was heard by Mayfield. Whistling, he said, was used only for signaling.[13]

533 The singers who accompanied dancing were called ale´k:č; the act of singing, or songs, e´lkaš.

302 386 [439] Paint.---White paint (ho´sot) was a clay "dug up in the swamps around here" (i.e., at the edge of the foothills toward Centerville). Red paint (hu´'iyu) was got in trade from the Eastern Mono. Black paint (wa´wən) was of unknown source. All these paints were lumpy; in preparation they were ground or rubbed down on a rock, then mixed with grease and applied with the fingers. P.D.W. insists that there were no distinctive totemic paint patterns. White paint, crudely smeared, was worn on a doctor's arms and body when he was dancing.

276 Pipes.---A pipe of wood (elderwood) was called a´tsi. P.D.W.'s pipe, the typical Yokuts pipe, was about 3 inches long, about 5/16 of an inch in diameter at the base and 1/2 inch at the outer end. The hollowing for the "bowl" was about 1/4 inch in diameter, and held but a small pinch of tobacco. Only one or two puffs were taken, perhaps twice a day. A pipe of clay was called sa´kmai; these were not common.[14] The other common form, comparable to the wood pipe, was called si´k:l (cane) from the cane which was obtained for this and for arrow-making from the Aiticha; no cane grew up in the hills, said P.D.W. The cane pipe was 3-6 inches long and was often carried behind

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[11] Ibid., 23, 40.

[578] [12] This man, who was at outs with most of his neighbors at Dunlap in 1927, refused repeated requests to become an informant. Other Indians apologized for his unwillingness, although his refusals were made with the greatest tact.

[13] Latta, op. cit., 25.

[14] Mayfield claimed he had seen no clay or stone pipes of the Choinimni (ibid., 21).

[P. 149 b] Choinimni

BURIAL

763 616 If it were thought a man would die within a day or two, the chief of his moiety would be asked to send a messenger to notify and assemble his relatives. Burial was made the 764 morning after death occurred. The deceased's own family washed the corpse, put it in its best clothing, adding ornaments of "money" beads and personal talismans, such as those of eagle-down string. Then the body was wrapped, with flexed posture, in hides.

764 767 Meanwhile official buriers (tono´č·m) had dug a grave, and they came to carry away the corpse and bury it. P.D.W. thought that this occupation "went from father to son," but he was uncertain under questioning. He emphatically denied that they were berdaches: "they were just plain men and women." They performed no dance, nor did they make a speech at the grave.

765 773 The story of the man who followed his wife to the afterworld was not known to P.D.W., and when told of this legendary trip, he evinced great surprise. (This lack of information was one of the many peculiarities of this informant and his knowledge.)

765 302 Mayfield reports the usual shortening of hair and the smearing of pitch and charcoal on women's hair and face as evidences of mourning.[21]

SHAMANISM

756 This subject was a difficult one for P.D.W. From others I had learned that he had been a doctor's winatum and, like most of them, had acquired considerable knowledge of doctors' ways. With the disappearance of true doctors among the Indians today, he had attempted to practice himself. While not eminently successful, he at least had the respect of neighboring Indians, who often appealed to him for help. It was also said that he had been put in jail twice by white authorities because of this practice, a punishment which the old man bore with fortitude, stating that "they can put me in jail, but they can't kill me." Consequently, questions on his own methods of doctoring had to be avoided, and he even hedged away from queries about specific doctors of earlier [778] times. However, in a sudden excess of confidence he got out his martenskin talisman to show me. This he stroked with a kind of loving abstraction as we were talking, and he volun- [683] tarily gave it to me to hold and stroke. In old times evil shamans were dispatched, with public approval, as elsewhere in the San Joaquin.

756 787 276 To be a doctor you had to have a dream (ana´tsiwal)[22] of an animal or bird, which was

[21] Latta, op. cit., 39.

[22] To be sleepy is ·n´t·m. The name of the tribe Entimbich was mentioned here, and P.D.W. denied any pun or meaning in this connection.

1: Gayton E-5 (19[illegible]30) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
[P 152 b] Choinimni

796 anyone, "it was his own know" (i.e., learned
535 through dream power). It had no reference to
424 acorn eating.

Kowo wore the usual doctor's dance re-
796 galia -- feather skirt, feather bunch (ʒú') skewered to a headnet, and feather crown (sema).
535 Singers with cocoon rattles accompanied him; he danced "half the night."

P.D.W. said he had never seen any Aiticha or Wechihit make this dance.

Rattlesnake ritual.--This rite (le'a'la)
796 was held at Kulušao in the old days. Sometimes a doctor who had Rattlesnake as a helper would dream; the snake would tell him to hold the rite, and he would do this immediately.

A Choinimni, Pušl·'l·n, was a Rattlesnake shaman. He would tell the chief that they should have the dance in six days. Then he would get some other snake "doctors." In three
[224] days they went after their rattlesnakes. They brought them home in cagelike baskets which they hung from a tree branch.

The ritual lasted three days. On the first two days the men danced with the snakes on their shoulders, displaying their imperviousness to snake bites. On the third day, the reptiles were put in a hollow in the ground, where they were symbolically "stepped on" and given "payment" in beads and eagle down. When the rite was over, the men returned the snakes to their dens.

P.D.W. said that Keya, the Wukchumni, J.P.'s grandfather, was the "best snake handler ever known" (see Wukchumni account, Pt. I). He and Pušl·'l·n most frequently gave this ceremony; Pušl·'l·n was known and witnessed as far south as Tule River. The powerful shaman Kapl·'l·n did not participate, "it was not his know." The Wechihit did not have a snake handler among them.

Deer Dance.--No dance representing or referring to deer was known to P.D.W.

GHOST DANCE OF 1870

668 A man (not identified) went over to the
177 "Paiute" to visit; there he learned two songs.
Then he went up to Table Mountain and to "a
796 big rancheria behind Pine Ridge [both places in Posgisa, Western Mono, territory. There, presumably, they were talking of or already holding Ghost Dances.] Then a man came down here [to Kulušao] and told them about it; he went on and got the Toihicha, Wechihit, and Tachi. A lot of Choinimni went to Uplinao, a Wobonuch village, to attend their first Ghost Dance.
[302] The people put black and white paint on their faces."[26] The true purpose of the dance P.D.W. apparently did not care to reveal; he insisted "they made that dance just for fun."

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[26] Shown in Gayton, Ghost Dance of 1870, fig. 2, c.

[P. 162 a] Kechayi

821 192 773 Star lore.--Terms used for stars, phases of sun and moon, etc., follow:

u ´p:š: sun
toiyu ´nem u ´p:š: moon (lit , night sun)
tawa ´n:š: morning star
tomo ´lo ´o ´lohi: evening star
čaya ´taš: star (general)
muxe ´ma: Pleiades (lit., young girls). E.M. disclaimed all knowledge of the tale of the girls' flight from their husbands.[52] When this constellation was on the eastern horizon at dawn, the river was deep, but when it was on the western horizon at dusk, it was time to go to the river for the spring salmon run.[53]

soiyo ´lui yawač:t: Milky Way (lit., antelope-place running). Antelope and deer ran a race across the sky from northeast to southwest. Deer won.

wate ´lau: a shooting star. Doctors knew something about these, but "plain people wouldn't know."

we ´č:n čano ´'o:n:t: eclipse of sun or moon (lit., Condor eating). The Condor was thought to be eating the luminary; he hid it with his wings. At this time everyone went out and shouted. This shouting was led by the Nutuwich people: "the Nutuwich could holler best, the Tokelyuwich couldn't holler very good." Coyote was not involved in eclipses. When an eclipse of the sun occurred, a horse was killed, in addition to the shouting. The meat was eaten, the carcass being left to attract Condor away from the sun.

805 Calendar.--The year was divided into moon months (yet u ´p:š, a month, lit., one moon). These had special names which E.M. forgets. It contained five weeks, that is, four weeks of six days each, and the dark of the moon (gatai ´ši) counted as six days. The week (šu ´man, Sp. semana?) is now said to have seven days (nu ´mč:n, seven); the old week was called ču ´lupai (čo ´l:pi, six).

823 Earthquake.--E.M. had never heard of an earthquake in this region. (This is curious since she had such a clear memory of the Ghost Dance in 1872, the year of a violent earthquake in the San Joaquin Valley.

885 301 Snake-charm.--In the spring men and women wore abalone-shell gorgets, the glittering of which was thought to make rattlesnakes give a warning rattle (snake-charm, čune ´ki).

●302 382 822 192 Paint.--The colors and sources were as follows:

ho ´suč: white. A clay which "the doctors got some place." They would give it to anybody

[831]

[52] One suspects reticence: the story is regarded as somewhat obscene, at least to tell to a stranger.

[53] This is approximately the same time; May 1 the Pleiades are on the eastern horizon at 6 a.m., western horizon at 6 p.m. Allowing for actual circumstances (the wall of the Sierra Nevada, what constitutes "dusk," etc.) there may have been a two-week interlude between the "time of high water" and the "time for spring salmon."

302 192 386 822 who "wanted to fix up for dances." It was associated with the Tokelyuwich moiety.

hu´iyu: red. This doctors bought from the Western Mono; the Eastern Mono were the ultimate source. It was the Nutuwich color.

ša´lu: black. Charcoal.

wa´wun: green (called blue by a Wobonuch informant). It is said to have been introduced by the Paiute who brought the Ghost Dance.

302 616 Face patterns E.M. could not describe beyond this statement: that the Tokelyuwich covered the face with white and added two vertical stripes of green (black in earlier times?), and that the Nutuwich merely used red horizontal stripes.[54] She added that the Tokelyuwich sometimes put white horizontal streaks across their upper arms (but see sweat house dance). Shamans were the usual owners and traders of paint.

436 Money.--Values for clamshell disc beads were: once around the hand without crossing the wrist, 25 cents; five times around the hand, $5.00. This is incongruous, of course (see fig. 14, c, Pt. I).

802 192 Numeral system.--The usual Yokuts numerical system, based on 10, was used by Kechayi, Gashowu, and Dumna. E.M. gave the following Kechayi count:

1. yɛt	14. ha´čpam
2. po´noi	15. yɛ´čam
3. so´pɛn	16. čo´lpop
4. hatpa´nai	17. no´mčom
5. yɛčɛ´nɛl	18 mu´nčum
6. čo´lɛpi	19. no´mpom
7. nu´mčɛn	20. ponoi ṭe´yiu
8. mo´noš	21. ponoi ṭeyao yɛt
9. no´nɛp	22. ponoi ṭeyao ponoi
10. ṭe´yao	23. ponoi ṭeyao so´pɛn,
11. yɛ´čam	etc.
12. bo´čtop	100. yɛt pi´ča
13. so´pi´op	1000. yɛt mi´la (Sp.)

GAMES

526 [616] Shinny.--This game (ko´nɛč). was played by both sexes. The sticks and ball were of "some hard wood." Usually there were three people on each side; moiety opposition functioned when the game was played at mourning ceremonies. The Kechayi played the game around the turning post, which was not struck or aimed at.

Tossed hoop and pole.--E.M. had not seen this game (ha´lao) played; she had "just heard the old people talk about it."

[237] Football.--For this game (i´wač) two posts were set up about one hundred feet apart. A ball of deerskin stuffed with grass was kicked and scuffed along the ground between two opponents. They pushed each other vigorously to maintain possession of the ball. They started from one post, went in a circuit around the

[54] Cf. Gifford, Miwok Moieties, 146.

[P. 172 b] Kechayi

796 ornaments they possessed. The women wore
756 eagle-down bands around their heads, necklaces
535 of humna beads, double deerskin aprons, and
[616] carried hand feathers (son·l) (fig. 8, b, Pt.I).
All wore moiety face paint patterns, but these
E.M. could not describe.

At first the shamans stood to one side dancing, each with a woman directly behind him. Then the six men filed in and danced around the fire, the doctors and women remaining in one place near it. The men used the "piston-rod" step, the women a hop with feet placed close
[583] together. The songs for this dance were from a special cycle which was not used on other occasions, but what they were about E.M. could not say.

535 Sweat house dance.---This dance (mosla´os-
[343] aho) is called by the name because it starts in
the sweat house (mos) and is continued outside.
756 So far as E.M. knew there was no distinction in the nature of the performance inside and out. "The dance was started inside and then went outside where everyone could see because Eagle told the dancers they must dance indoors before going out" (see "Shaman's debut"). This dance was done at any time of the year.

The performers were shamans and two female dancers who might be of either moiety. The women were Ši´lat and Wojil·t (the corpse-
[237] handler) (E.M.'s aunt). Besides the usual breechclout and deerskin apron, the dancers wore long strands of eagle-down rope wrapped around their waists, arms, and heads. The head-
535 band was a very wide one. Tokelyuwich parti-
751 cipants were supposed to look like Eagle; their
302 faces were painted solid red with white dots
616 scattered over it and three horizontal white stripes on their cheeks. The Nutuwich dancers had red faces with black spots, and a black area all around the mouth. Men and women were painted alike.

The only women who saw the dancing start in the sweat house were the women participants. People crowded around, not all could get in, and "the women were too bashful to push in."

535 Bear Dance.---This dance was called no´·n
796 ka´ma. Two Kechayi [Dumna?] brothers, Go´h·l and Te´e´wus, had power from Bear (noho´·n t·pni). They were not regarded as doctors, just men with a specific kind of supernatural power. Their dance was obviously comparable in its brevity, in its bearlike steps, and its
[184] winter (?) schedule, to that of the Wukchumni Bear Dance, but unlike it in its fire-handling display and in its lack of relation to the acorn crop.

The dance was done in the winter. Bear would tell the dancer to go far back in the mountains. There two bears would come to him during the night and hug him to protect him from the severe cold. He stayed out two nights and danced by himself. Then when he came in he danced publicly at night. Later the informant

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529

[P. 173 9] Kechayi

535 796 said this was danced at any ceremony if asked for.

E.M. saw Gohːl and another Bear dancer named Joˊnːš do the dance. They wore the vertical feather čuˊ on their heads, bear paws on [237] their chests. The whole bear skin was not used. Brown paint covered their faces, and ●303] black was put around or over the upper lip "to look like Bear," and covered their arms and bodies. The dance lasted two nights. On the first, they took turns: one sang while the other danced and vice versa. On the second, they both sang and danced together. There was no change in dress or dancing on the second night. The cocoon rattle (šaˊnači) was used in accompaniment. The actual dance was very short, "like bears dance," with a sort of jumping step. It was done twice only by each performer. Then 796 they pretended to dance into the fire and 535 frightened people. They turned into bears as 789 they danced, but Čokonːk's daughter, who sometimes danced with them, did not undergo transformation.

E.M. said Gohːl turned into a bear sometimes, and Tewus, his brother, was "much worse." He transformed himself and danced around the fire and "went around the country scaring people." (See anecdotes about Hai'haiˊːč, another Bear dancer.)

796 Coyote dancing.---At some time during 522 pleasure dances or entertainments, or after the 616 ritual washing at a mourning ceremony, a character representing Coyote gave a clownish performance. E.M. did not remember the name of any man who did this, but said he must have been of the Nutuwich moiety. A coyote skin, [302] cured with the fur on, was fastened on his back, with the head at his head, and tail at his buttocks. Paint was applied to his face and body "any way just to be funny." His antics in- [786] cluded yowling like a coyote, jumping about, grabbing food, mimicking the spokesman, and making obscene advances toward young girls.

796 Beaver Dance.---E.M. had heard of a dance 789 done "before her day" over at Owoˊniu. The 756 doctors made fish with red heads appear; these, 787 however, could be seen only by other doctors. The shaman making this ceremony "danced half the night. When the power was coming it made them suffer."[73]

Seed-crop prophesying.---This E.M. saw Čokonːk do at a Gashowu village. It was done day or night at any time of year. The doctor danced around the public fire and told what kind of seed, clover, and acorn crops would come. There was no demonstration of seed-growing or of plants: "he just told what his power showed him." This performance was supposed to benefit the crops for the coming season.

789 Rain-making.---A doctor from Kings River was able to make rain, but E.M. had "just heard

[73] Cf. the woman participant who "groaned" in the Wukchumni Beaver Dance.

[P. 175b] Kechayi Chuckchansi,

796 668 [798] which was a large bead-trimmed basket. This basket "held the power" of the dancers, but had no curing power to revive persons who fell unconscious. The pole was not used at later [Kechayi] dances. This first dance was called ha'lo, but the term was not used thereafter.

● [302 616] The dancers all used moiety paint patterns on their faces.

The affair continued five nights, and on the sixth day they danced all day and night. At this time Joijoi, with two men and three women, dressed and danced in a peculiar manner in an attempt to convince the assemblage that they were the returning dead. The hoax, though quickly discovered, was not resented. Nor was the nonappearance of the dead resented, thinks E.M.

After their return home a few dances were held in various villages.

CHUCKCHANSI

101 wehil: Grub Gulch, a village with a captain was there

103 č'iǰ'ani: Quartz Mountain

131 t'oxolo: a place east of Raymond, at the foot of the hills, on the Fresno River

kasowu: Friant (the locality or the people, Gashowu?)

nipnoači: a Miwok site 3 or 4 miles north or east of Ahwahnee

101 131 The Chukchansi lived at Coarse Gold, Picayune, and as far west as Oakhurst; beyond that was another tribe. Everybody at Lulniu (Oakhurst) is now dead, said M.W. The Chukchansi people went as far north as Yosemite, Southern Miwok territory, said J.R., although none lived permanently north of the Fresno River, unless married to Miwok. Southward they went no farther than Friant, Gashowu territory. If they went to a place, they came directly home again, did not go traveling around. "They don't travel very much, very far. When people go after something, when they get it they come straight home. They got home, here, this is their home." [J.R. thus expressed the strong feeling for a home spot or locale manifest by other Yokuts. -- A.H.G.] [152 186]

166 222 People would move around, perhaps two or three miles for the summer and come back for the winter. They went up in the mountains to get berries or seeds, always going to the same place on which they had a traditional claim. "When white people came they got everything mixed up."

For pine nuts, hazel nuts, and a superior type of elderberry people went far up into the mountains. This trip was made about August and camps were established, as entire families went.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P. 197 b] Chuckchansi

264 Between meals anyone who wanted to could eat;
512 cold acorn mush was always on hand. At meals, meat was divided so that everyone got a piece, however small it might be. Persons usually sat close to or at their sleeping place when eating inside the house, said J.R.

252 If the women of a household were off
593 getting seeds or at other work far from home, the men would cook food so there would be a
512 meal for them when they came home. The women did the same for the men when they were gone. When both sexes were at home, the women did the cooking. Men often cooked the meat dish, while women were preparing the acorn food.

484 People seldom went so far from home that they could not return by nightfall, said J.R.
512 Men always got back from hunting by sundown. Neither would they go far to trade. "They go a little ways, and if they don't see anyone (with whom they can encamp for the night?) they come back before night."

When men went out on a long hunt they re-
512 turned about midafternoon, said C.D. Then they ate, rested in the shade, and then went to the sweat house. After the sweat they swam, then went to their homes. After the evening meal they went to bed.

Old and young went to bed at the same
512 time, J.R. thought. The little children were
513 "wrapped in a little wildcat skin at night to have a good sleep." In a well-supplied family,
352 each person had his own coverings, rabbitskin blankets for adults, small skins for the children. The fire was kept alive all night to keep the sleepers warm.

Clothing and Ornament

291 Not much clothing was worn by the Chuk-
chansi or their neighbors toward the valley,
[281] said J.R. Men made the breechclouts, prepared the skin with deer brains, cut them to fit the individual, said C.D. He thought women's breechclouts were cut exactly the same as men's. M. said men wore an apron covering back and front (possibly she means the breechclout ends). She said that girls made fun of men who wore no clothing or only a small covering over the
● [302] penis. Men wore their hair shoulder length, singed off even with a hot coal.

Tule grass skirts were worn by women, said J.R.; these were also made of shredded willow bark, said M. Skins were worn around the loins by women, or in a "diaper shape," said M. Kroeber states that the back part of a Chukchansi woman's skirt was of buckskin, the front of pounded strands of a long grass called chulochul.[84]

Both sexes used skins of deer, fox, wild-cat, or rabbit around the shoulders, said J.R. They were tied on with strings, or some people

[84] Handbook, 519.

764 was moving from a description of old to more recent practice.

A long time ago they didn't bury people, for there was nothing to dig graves with [sic]. They piled up wood and laid the body on the pile and burned it. Later on they picked up the bones and put them in a good basket. Then they dug a hole in the graveyard, close to the burning place, and buried the whole therein. No mark was put on the grave. The burying ground was just an open ordinary field.

When they are ready to bury, they pack the body over to the cemetery, put it right in. No one made a speech or special comment, although many people would come for a burial -- from Picayune, Roundhouse, and all around. Then, afterward, all those visitors went home; but the local people remained living where they were.

768 Sometimes the dwelling of a man was burned at his death, as well as all his possessions. "They don't leave anything he had." Then the family would build another home. A widowed woman's new home would be built by one of her male relatives who "would come right away and fix her a little house to live in." Some male friend would do this if she had no masculine relatives. It was fixed so she could live as she had before. No pay was given for this work. A widow would be given meat by her father: "in the evening when he came home he would give her some of what he got." [Presumably this refers to a woman who had no sons to provide meat for her. -- A.H.G.] She remained close to her house.

587 The levirate was not practiced, said J.R. At least he knew of no instance. After a year a widow was free to marry anyone as she wished.

769 Many people feared to approach a graveyard,
753 especially at night, for they said they could
775 see people moving around there, although they did not know who. "Something from over there [in the cemetery] would get out from the graveyard, make some of them sick, scare them. Then they got sick forever [incurably], maybe die, some of them. They used to die that way."[126] These frightening emanations did not touch a victim, but remained aloof. "People got sick just because they got scared. The spirit doesn't give them anything. People just think they see it," said J.R.

765 Mourners singed off their hair, its shortness indicating the intensity of grief, said
302 N.W. A daughter mourning her father cut her hair halfway up her back, but a widow mourning her husband would crop hers short. All close female relatives of the dead indicated their mourning by some shortening of hair. This was accomplished like all hair "cutting" by means

[126] Compare the fatal malady, a psychic trauma, brought on a Pomo by ghost-fright. (Loeb, Pomo Folkways, 323).

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P. 197 b] Chuckchansi

765 of a hot coal stick.[127] They also put pine
302 pitch on their cheeks:[128] a little near the nose for temporary grief, larger amounts for greater mourning, and a deeply devoted woman kept a bit in front of each ear for the rest of her life. A mixture of charcoal and water was put on the face about every two weeks during the year of mourning by those excessively grieved. These indulgences were by women; men did not observe mourning with these symbols.
[531] They evidenced grief by playing the musical
765 bow, says Kroeber.[129] Neither sex had any special mourning garb, nor were clothes torn or bodies mutilated.

During the period of mourning, between the time of death and the next annual mourning ceremony, the bereaved relatives did not participate in any ceremonies or festivities. If they attended at all, they came as unobtrusive onlookers.

768 Inheritance of such possessions as were
428 not deposited with the dead was from parent to child: a wife did not inherit her husband's possessions. They were divided equally among his children without regard to age or status.

761 Omens of death.--Several items which may
787 be classed as omens were mentioned in course by the informants N.W. and J.R. as follows.
825

When a dog chokes on something and wheezes, someone in the family, probably the dog's owner, is dying.

If a fox howls at dusk, just before sundown, a woman is dying. This omen is still regarded as true. J.R. had a more elaborate rendering of this belief. He said news of a distant death was portended by the barking of a fox at sundown. Perhaps in a certain village, it would be known that someone in another village five or six miles away was very ill. When the fox barked, it was realized that the person was dead or would be dead before morning. Probably the very next day a messenger would come announcing the death, and people would dress up and go over to mourn. These foxes, which are not uncommon in the locality, are shy and never seen in the daytime. Just how they learned the esoteric news which they signaled, J.R. could not explain.

When the "billy-owl" (brown owl) hoots at night, it is telling that someone is dying and even says who it is.

A coyote will howl whenever someone dies, but this omen is not infallible at night, "because at night they usually howl anyway."

A pestle should not be left in a mortar hole. If a woman leaves one there, her brother, or even her son, will be killed: "some enemy might cut them up or something."

A modern belief is that if a rooster crows at midnight "someone is being cut up." This omen is so disliked that the offending fowl is

[127] Kroeber states that the singeing was controlled "with a natural comb of tumu, which has close-set parallel branches" (Handbook, 519).

[128] Mentioned also by Kroeber (ibid., 500).

[129] Ibid., 542.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
[P. 203 9] Chukchansi

Dancing

535 No specific dance performance was described, but J.R. gave a few generalities. Dancing groups were usually composed of four dancers and an accompanist singer. The dancers wore a loincloth [breechclout ?], feathers around the neck [sic], and something around the head "that looked kind of funny." They might [302 439] have specks of white paint on their faces, or sometimes red paint obtained from the Eastern Mono. Not all the dancers used red paint. Often the Miwok used it when they came over for a dance.

The dance steps were standardized. J.R. characterized those of the Chukchansi and the Yokuts of the San Joaquin River region as being done with an erect posture, immobile head, and heavy stamping step [the familiar Yokuts "piston rod" step]. The Miwok, he said, leaned forward, moved back and forth with a wiggling step, keeping the feet a little apart. (Miss Thrall suggests that this may have resembled a quick "grapevine" step.) There was a different movement for each song.

[534 533] The singer wore no paint nor feathers. His only instrument was the split elderwood clapper, about ten inches long. This was "waved up and down to make it crack while he was singing." The singer sang, then paused for an interval of rest.

GHOST DANCE OF 1870

764 344 There were three chiefs at Wasamo (near Ahwahnee).[141] This was where J.R.'s family "lived and died." There was a large burying ground there. Today (?) there is still a big round [dance] house which the three captains, assisted by a white man, built. The white man contributed some food for the builders.

622 796 When the chiefs wanted something done, they called their people to a big assembly fire. There were many people. If a festivity was planned, the chiefs said when it was to be, how long it was to last, and what singers, dancers, and guests should be told to come. Men were dispatched to get deer for food.

796 This kind of big time lasted about one week. The hosts provided the food. In the evening three or four men would dance, and sometimes as many women. Guests from other places also performed; each dance was said to [624] be different. There were certain men [dance managers] who went about giving instructions; the managers went in groups of three or four. [526] During the day games were enjoyed: footraces, football, hoop and pole played by the women, and the hand game by both sexes.

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[141] The location of Wasamo is uncertain. J.R., in this connection said "near Ahwahnee"; "they were living at Ahwahnee, that is where they had that dance."

-1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29

[P. 203 b] Chukchansi

668
796 When the Ghost Dance was introduced at Wasamo, J.R. was about ten to twelve years old. A few whites were about, but not many. Chinese [177] and Mexicans were looking for gold; there were Chinese camps all along Fresno River.

A group of people came from Bishop Creek [775] and told the people at Wasamo that their dead had returned to life, that "they had come up out of the ground." They told the people at Wasamo to dance; that, when the dead came, they would bring with them a small piece of food ["Indian food"] which would prove to be inexhaustible, no matter how much was eaten from it.

They danced in a circle, men and women [535] holding hands and dragging their feet. There was no special dress: the aboriginal costume [302] was still in use. However, in the morning after bathing, red clay was put on the face. This red paint was brought from Bishop Creek, as the Miwok and others did not have it.[142] The men from Bishop Creek sang while the others danced. These singers each had a single eagle wing feather tied on the head "with some kind of rag." No one else wore feathers. The dancing continued all night and in the morning everyone went to bathe. Even little children were put in the water and washed.

This initial event lasted about one week. About a year later, after more people had died, there was another. J.R. thinks that there were about three of these dances in two years. There was the first at Wasamo [or at Ahwahnee ?], another at Bill Basall's (Bersell's), which is the site of Aplau, Slokmič's village, and another near here at Totono which is about a half-mile across the creek from J.R.'s present house. The dances were abandoned after that because no dead people came back: Said J.R., "Never seen one back here yet!"

SUPERNATURAL POWER AND SHAMANISM

Sickness

754
776 Several anecdotes of illness were told by N.W., whose father-in-law was a shaman. In spite of the fact that she believed this man, Xatali (Bill Wyatt), responsible for the death of several of her children, she bore him no grudge; in fact, claimed that the fault was not really his. He was a good man: the illnesses and deaths he caused were due to his being subject to his supernatural helper's will. His helper was Coyote. He killed seven of N.W.'s children "because if he didn't kill his own son's children, he would die himself. Coyote would tell him to do it or he'd die." After
754 N.W.'s seven children were killed, she "didn't have any more left, so he had to die himself."

[439] [142] Red paint was a trade article between Eastern Mono and Yokuts. It was not newly introduced at the time of the Ghost Dance, as implied by Powers (p. 381).

W Y 291 A sewn leather jacket was denied by S.O., yet other informants said a sort of sleeveless jumper with side seams could be bought from the Eastern Mono. (It is possible S.O. misunderstood my query.)

W Y [237 439] Rabbitskin blanket.---The Michahai and Waksachi, when on their camping trips to the lower foothills, caught jack rabbits. Sometimes they bought rabbitskins from Wukchumni, Gawia, and Telamni. They also saved and used the upland rabbitskins for blankets.

W Y 292 237 Dance costume.---The shaman's dance skirt, which he wore on all dress occasions, consisted of many 18- to 24-inch pendent strands of ša' string into which chicken-hawk down had been rolled. Each strand was tipped with a bluejay or flicker quill.

The headdress consisted of the usual two parts, the vertical feather bunch (čuha´o, Michahai; čuha´b^{i}, Waksachi) made of roadrunner quills, and the soft fluffy crown (se´ma, Michahai; sema´b^{i}, Waksachi) of crow feathers.

W Y 292 462 435 The skirt was made by either men or women, but the headdress was made only by men. An old man at Kičeyu (Dunlap) named Ko´'o was particularly skilled at making headdresses, which he sold at a price somewhat equivalent to $10.00

W Y 301 304 Ear and nose plugs.---Everyone, said S.O., had his or her ears punched. This was done with a fine pointed manzanita stick. The heated point was pressed from in front against the lobe, behind which was pressed a small flat stone. The stick was pushed on into the hole and left until the wound healed. Then a series of increasingly larger sticks were inserted. Cane tubes were sometimes inserted, and the men's quail-feather ear plug of the Yokuts was used. A women's ear plug, also derived from the Yokuts of the plains, consisted of a ring of abalone shell (li´la, Michahai) which fitted the aperture like a plug, and from which dangled short strands of clamshell-disc beads.

Similarly, in the old days, both men and women had the nasal septum pierced. A single humana shell bead was the favorite ornament for this aperture.

Y W 304 Tattooing.---There were no special practitioners of this art, "anybody could do it." The design was pricked in the skin with the point of a fine obsidian blade and charcoal was rubbed in the abrasion. The patterns were stereotyped. Women had vertical lines from lower lip to chin, but these were never used by men. Both sexes used horizontal lines running from the corners of the mouth to the ears, and bandlike lines on the inner wrist. Two old women, Bren and Sugarfoot, were noted for their ambitious decorations which consisted of straight wide lines commencing on the chin and continuing down throat, chest, and breasts. S.O. could recall no other kinds of designs.

W Y ● 302 ● [192] Paint.---Face and body paints were hapa´ka o´čak (red), toiye´'i očak (white), and mutskei´wak očak (black, i.e., charcoal) [all teams Michahai.]

terms Michahai]. S.O. could recall only two specific patterns and the generally used shamans' pattern. A man with Crow totem would always use black, but this might be arranged any way he chose, S.O. thought. The favorite patterm for a Crow poŝam was a horizontal black band on each cheek under the eyes, or sometimes over the eyes. A Deer man's emblem was one to three rows of black dots drawn along the zygomatic arch from nose to ears. Shamans used three horizontal rows of lines or dots on each cheek in the order red, black, red, and the same on arms and legs. At the Ghost Dance gatherings any person could and did use this pattern. [The use of white paint was not mentioned, and I failed to note its omission.]

SUBSISTENCE

Hunting

Bows and arrows.---The following information is from B.O. who was a noted hunter.

The plain bow (e·'dᵘ) was in common use by every man, and was the type first used by boys. It was made of pepperwood (no'jᵘb¹; California Laurel), and was of the same proportions and curvature as the sinew-backed bow. It was strung with a two-ply sinew cord.

The sinew-backed bow (ta'muedᵘ) was of juniper wood (wa·p) which only grew up in the mountains, i.e., from Waksachi territory eastward. The length was from 3 to 4 feet, and 2 inches the width at the center: roughly measured from the sternum to fingertips; if wanted extra long, from one shoulder to opposite fingertips. There was no indentation at the grip. The ends were recurved: heated over coals, the end would be braced into some crevice and forced to bend by leverage pressure on the center of the bow. This was a slow task requiring many repeated efforts. After the bow was shaped, sinew (ta'mob¹) from deer legs was soaked in water, then beaten between two flat stones. A heavy glue made by boiling deer horns was smeared along the back of the bow and the sinew laid into it. The sinew was so placed that a piece about one inch long extended beyond the bow at either end. When dry, these curled back, forming hooks for the better attachment of the bowstring. A hand grasp of leather was glued around the bow at the center; sometimes small feathers were inserted around the edges of this. The bowstring was 2-ply sinew cord. In fitting a new string, the looped loose end was placed first and the other end pulled up to the desired tension and tied permanently in position. Bows were left unstrung most of the time. To unstring, the tied end was placed against the right instep, the left hand grasping the upper end. The bow was then pulled inward and downward sufficiently to relax the string, which was slipped off with the right hand.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
EP. 237 b. Western Mono NS25
W Y 775 539

there see the new spirit coming; they go to welcome him and lead him to his relatives' fire. Games and dancing are in course everywhere. But when the morning star rises, everything disappears until dusk, when it becomes visible again.[176]

W Y 765 [768]

Mourning.--The house in which death occurred was always abandoned; although it was not invariably burned, no one else would move into it. The former inmates built themselves a new house, not necessarily far off -- "fifty feet maybe." Mourning observances were maintained by bereaved spouses, parents, or offspring; siblings, cousins, grandparents, or relatives-in-law did not observe them unless the circumstances of life -- propinquity, or physical or emotional dependence -- had brought them abnormally close to the dead person. The length of time mourning endured depended again on the degree of bereavement. A widow was expected to mourn a year, a widower but three months, as minimal periods. Usually a small personal ritual ended deep mourning, so to say, after three to six months, but spiritual mourning and the meat tabu, continued until the large annual tribal mourning ceremony was held.

W Y 302 82 [6]

The observances of mourning were as follows. The hair was singed off close to the head with a hot charred stick; the hair was always disposed of in water and weighted down with a stone, never buried nor burned [reason unknown to any informant]. Dirt was allowed, even encouraged by the use of pitch, to accumulate on the face and body; only the hands were washed. No meat or grease might be eaten, although yellowjackets' nests (tabu to pregnant women) were admissible as food. No visiting was done save among relatives, and attendance at any ceremony was unthinkable. A brooding attitude was maintained, and old women frequently released their melancholy in wailing outside the village at dawn and dusk.

W Y 765 551

Verbal observances by others who were not themselves mourners were: a tabu on the name of the dead person, the changing of one's name if it were that of the deceased, and the changing of kinship terms for relatives connected with the speaker through the deceased. The changing of one's name was not a difficulty, as only one person in a family -- usually a paternal grandchild, grandnephew, or grandniece -- could possibly have it. The change need not be permanent, as the tabu was lifted after the Annual Mourning Ceremony. Furthermore, a change could be made by phonetic distortion, as in kinship terms, if one did not wish to take a wholly new name. Nicknames were often coined and applied at such times.

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[176] At this point T.O. volunteered the "Orpheus Myth" in order to explain to me how the nature of the afterworld was known to man (see Gayton, Orpheus Myth; Gayton and Newman, 35).

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS20
[P. 252b] Western Mono NS25

W Y 796 668

"We are having this dance, and we want to tell you what we have heard. Where we got these songs and dance one man told us about what is going to come.

"We are having this dance for a dead man. He is where we got these songs.[200] After a few more years this dead man is going to come from where we got these songs and dance. Right now that man is very far off, he is at watsatsa ʻošao paʻʻa nːm (the crack-in-the-world our home) way off to the east. There is a fire there all the time, playing [games], and dancing all the time. The people there disappear in the daytime. We are making this dance for those ghosts (iʻnːl). You must do this all the time. Then there will be no more getting sick and dying."

W Y [775]

W Y [783]

Tapunači also told the people to swim or bathe themselves each morning. But no verbal ritual comparable to baptism was prescribed and, as morning bathing was customary with Yokuts and probably Western Mono, this was probably a reemphasis of native custom.

Then the dance began with singers using songs which were meaningless to S.O. The only one he recalls is this:

heʻbarːn, heʻbaya, heʻnani
[repeated over and over]

W Y [535]

Dancers of both sexes indiscriminately joined hands and, facing inwards, circled to the left [clockwise]. Never did they go in the opposite direction in this or any other dance. The arms were bent upward at the elbows, and the clasped hands beat downward at each step. The dancing continued until the company was exhausted, when they sat down to listen to a short exhortation by Takaš, Košowi, or one of the Wobonuch singers. The alternate dancing, preaching, and resting were continued from about eight o'clock in the evening until daylight. There was no sequence or climax to the routine, so far as S.O. knew. Although "any kind" of clothes were worn, all the participants had red and black paint on their faces. The common pattern was three horizontal lines (male) or rows of dots (female) across the cheeks and nose.

W Y ● [303 83]

Eventually there were so many participants that two concentric circles of dancers were formed. The singers sat between two fires within the circle. When speakers addressed the company, they stood in front of the singers.

W Y [517]

During the day the people were free to play games or do as they pleased, but the majority were so tired that they merely bathed, slept, and lounged. This continued for six days.[201]

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[200] Presumably in the Land of the Dead where the Paiute originator of the cult may have journeyed in his trance, as did most prophets of such movements (see Spier, The Prophet Dance of the Northwest and Its Derivatives).

[201] S.O. omitted any hint of the final routing of the dancers by white settlers, an episode of which I later learned elsewhere.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29 Western Mono NS 25

[P 253b]

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Y
796
C68

B.O.'s account of the Ghost Dance (ni'gat da'man) was singularly brief and corrupted even for his usual tacit manner.[203]

He said the first [sic] big dance was held at the south end of Eshom Valley, Waksachi territory, although the site had no special name. It was instigated by Wobonuch or horo'gidi [?] singers who "sent word all over the foothills and to the lake for people to come." They went on foot to the Tule River Reservation and southern end of the valley, but did not hold any dances en route.

At the resulting assemblage in Eshom Valley there were four or five hundred people, about equally mixed Yokuts and Western Mono. There were about twelve singers. These men were not paid, nor did they use any instrumental accompaniment. B.O. disclaimed knowledge of any purpose for the dance, i.e., any doctrine, and said it was done "just to be doing it."

The singers sat between two great fires. Around them men and women circled in single file. [Direction not recalled by informant.] All had their faces painted with red and white vertical or horizontal stripes or rows of dots. The dancing was kept up throughout each night until the participants were exhausted. The affair lasted about one week.

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[pp. 254-290 not processed]

[203] It is noteworthy that this informant omitted all references to its true purpose, as well as to the dramatic break-up described by others.

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and other property are tossed to the *tongochim*, who though already liberally paid, are entitled to keep all that they secure in the scramble. Other valuables are burned with the images.

The use of effigies is of interest because duplicated among many remote groups, but appears not to be participated in by such Yokuts tribes as the Chukchansi or Tachi. Among the latter, after dancing until morning, property is given to visitors through the medium of a sham fight in which they despoil the owners. After this the chief mourner, who has arranged the ceremony and provided food for the guests, wanders through the village crying.

Among the Chukchansi the ritual of the final night takes on many features of the corresponding practices of the neighboring Miwok, whose *yalaka* ceremony they identify with their own *lakinan*. There are two fires, one for the men, the other for the women. The chief is posted at the latter, whence he delivers loud orations, in a peculiar abrupt enunciation. Such "preaching," as the Indians now term it, is indulged in on ceremonial occasions also by the Pomo, the Patwin, the Maidu, the Mohave, the Luiseño, and no doubt most other tribes in the State. Around each fire dancing goes on in a contraclockwise circle, the men holding poles from which hang valuables, the women baskets, and the singers standing outside the circles. Once during the night, and again toward morning, the men and women change to each others' fires. Finally the displayed property is burned in the men's fire. This act is called *tulo* or *yuyahin*, and marks the end of the ceremony. After this the visitors are paid by the residents of the town for purifying them by washing them with water in which a scented plant, *mechini*, has been steeped.

A joyous aftermath during the ensuing day marks the definite cessation of mourning. This is the *ka'm* or *wotii*, meaning simply dance. The step of this, indeed, is the same as that practiced by the *tongochim* during the preceding funerary ritual, and in fact over the unburied dead. It consists of an alternate high lifting of each leg at intervals of a second or less and stamping it down with violence, the performers meanwhile standing still or traveling in a circle. On this occasion of pleasurable reaction the dancers are for the first time painted—the men black, the women red, among the Yaudanchi—and they wear, so far as they possess them, the most elaborate and distinctive of Yokuts regalia: high crowns of crow and long magpie feathers, and skirts of strings of eagle down. Among the Chukchansi the men line up in a row, the women behind them, both facing north. Man after man then pays a woman for taking her from her place, and the couple dance before the double row.

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the rite in order that none of the people might be bitten during the ensuing year. Proceeding in a procession to a rattlesnake den, they stamped and whistled before it, the head shaman directly facing the hole, the others on the sides to cut off the return of such snakes as might falter at the impending ordeal.

Soon, it is said, the snakes would emerge, usually preceded, it was believed, by a large lizard, and, drawn on by the leading shaman, they crawled straight to his feet, where they buried themselves in a winnowing basket filled with eagle down. Each medicine man in turn pointed out the snake he considered his, distracted its attention by swinging his *wacham* or hand-feathers, seized it, and carried it off in a sack. The worst snake of the lot was left for the head "doctor."

In the evening the tribe gathered under the inevitable shade. While the singers chanted particular melodies to the accompaniment of cocoon rattles the snake shamans walked about whistling, each with his death-bearing sack. They wore down-filled head nets and were painted in alternate horizontal stripes of white and red drawn across the body and limbs. From time to time they placed their bags on the heads of spectators, declaring that thus they determined who was subject to snake bite during the year.

On the following day these prospective victims of the serpents are cured in anticipation in order to prevent their being bitten. Although their infection is entirely imaginary and future, it is treated by the snake shamans by their usual medical means of sucking. The doctors even profess to extract from the not yet existing wound the actual poison—usually a rat's tail or tooth or a small snake—which has already been injected into the body by the future piercing of the skin by the rattlesnake's fangs. This is certainly magic with a vengeance; and it is difficult to imagine a logic of causality more in conflict with our own.

This precaution for the health of the community having been taken, the snake shamans display their powers to the multitude. They play with the snakes, throw them about, tease them to anger, allow them to bite themselves, and even hold them out hanging by their fangs from the thumb or hand.

The *kuyohoch* or "shaman killers"—in California the doctor is also potentially a nefarious wizard—then appear. Pretending to be trying to shoot the rattlesnake shamans, they make these beg for their lives and pay ransom for being spared.

The last act of the ceremony, the "stepping" itself, is also costly to the shamans, who, far from exploiting the community through their powers, as we might anticipate, are forced to accumulate much property in order to pass through the rite. The rattlesnakes are now

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The Chukchansi know of a female shaman who on being killed and buried emerged from the ground in the shape of a bear and walked off unmolested. The Tachi ascribe to their bear doctors, and of course especially to those of their neighbors, the faculty of surviving repeated killings in their bear shape: the medicine man merely returns to his home the next night as if nothing had happened. A famous shaman of this kind was at San Luis Obispo in mission times, they declare. Once he was trapped or roped, in his animal form, and had the misadventure of being dragged in to fight a bull. This tale seems to include the Chumash among the tribes that believed in bear doctors. 756

While the valley Tachi bear doctor might dance over a patient, the Choinimni and Yaudanchi had a public dance of such personages, held outdoors. The exhibition is described as harmless in effect, and the dancers were paid, but the purpose of the demonstration, except as a demonstration, is obscure. Obviously the ceremony falls into the same class as the *Ohowish*, *Heshwash*, and rattlesnake stepping rites already mentioned. The two or three participants were painted entirely black, and were naked save for a headband of eagle down and a claw necklace, or skin around the loins, that had been taken from the animal they controlled. The dance was clearly mimetic. The feet were held together, the body leaned forward, the hands hung down. The step was a short stiff leap with a heavy land. Gradually the doctors jumped to their song, growled, spread their fingers like claws, and leaped forward as if to seize a foe. [302 292] [535]

RATTLESNAKE SHAMANS.

The Chukchansi, among whom the public stepping ceremony was lacking or slenderly developed, nevertheless had shamans who cured rattlesnake bites. The poison was sucked out with a bone whistle, pointed, however, at the sun, and not at the bitten part. The poison was then displayed as a salivalike string—no doubt from the shaman's own mouth—and put away in a basket to be kept by him. The connection of rattlesnake and sun has already been alluded to as regards the shaman's spirit. The Yaudanchi rattlesnake doctor extracted gopher teeth by direct sucking: as the snake feeds on gophers, it retains their teeth to inject as poison. 752 755

Rattlesnake doctors are said to have received only moderate fees, as contrasted with the bankrupting payment to the Yuki shaman; and rattlesnakes are declared to have been killed, though reluctance to do this is so great among most other California Indians that it may be supposed that even among the Yokuts a common man would not lightly perform the act. 756 171

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CHAPTER 35.

THE YOKUTS: THE CONCRETE BASIS OF LIFE.

Dress and bodily habits, 519; houses, 521; the food problem in California, 523; Yokuts plant foods and their preparation, 527; the mortar, 527; the taking of game and fish, 528; the bow, 530; boats, 531; textiles, 531; cradles of the Yokuts and other Californians, 534; pottery, 537; pipes and tobacco, 538; games, 538; esthetics, 540; the type of Yokuts civilization, 542.

DRESS AND BODILY HABITS.

Clothing sufficed only for the very limits of decency, as we see them. Men wrapped a deerskin, *sep*, around the loins, or went naked. Old men in particular were wont to go without even this covering. Boys and little girls also were nude; but from the time of puberty on women wore a two-piece fringed skirt of the usual Californian type, the hind part larger. With the Yaudanchi, both portions were made of willow bark, as among the Mohave. The Chukchansi made the back piece of buckskin, the front of pounded masses of a long grass called *chulochul*. The well-known rabbit-fur blanket protected against cold and rain on occasion, and was excellent to sleep in. Moccasins of deer and elk skin were worn only as there was special need. Rude sandals of bear fur have been reported as worn in winter.

Women's hair was worn long, but for men the custom was more variable. Both sexes were wont to gather it under a string when at work. In mourning, men burned their hair off to the neck, women, for a near relative, close to the head. A glowing stick was used, and the Chukchansi controlled the singeing with a natural comb of *tumu*, which has close-set parallel branches.

Women, but not men, had their nose septum pierced for ornaments of bone.

Tattooing was more practiced in the north than in the south, and more extensively by women than by men. It ran in lines, zigzags, and rows of dots, chiefly down the chin and across from the corners of the mouth; the Mono style of marking the upper cheeks was not followed. The general type of women's face pattern tolerated infinite individual variety, as in the Yuki region; the Yurok and their neighbors clung strictly to a tribal style. Chukchansi women might be tattooed across breast, abdomen, arms, and legs also. The method followed was to rub charcoal dust into cuts made with flint or

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as much again in diameter. Except for a narrow rim, the whole upper surface was excavated a few inches, chiefly by fire; but the actual pounding was done in a smaller doubly sunk pit in the center. The pestle was the same as on bedrock. Even the hill Chukchansi knew the wooden mortar, which they called *kowish;* and the Choinimni used it. It is a type that has rarely been observed north of Tehachapi outside the San Joaquin Valley: there are attributions to the Konomihu and the Patwin. (Pl. 45.)

Loose mortars of stone were found and used on occasion by all the tribes, but the universal testimony is that they were not made. In fact, the Chukchansi declare their inability to do so, and attribute all stone mortar holes, in situ as well as portable, to the coyote, who employed an agency of manufacture that decency debars from mention.

It is reported that the Yokuts sometimes fastened a hopper of basketry to the edge of a stone mortar; but this practice is established only for the southern California tribes, and needs confirmation. There is no Yokuts mortar basket, and the few available specimens of the combination suggest that an American may have cut the bottom out of a cooking basket and asphalted it to the stone.

Small stone mortars were probably used for special purposes quite different from those usually assumed. A toothless woman, for instance, was likely to keep such a one for pounding up the whole gophers or ground squirrels that younger relatives might from time to time toss her. Others may have been used for tobacco or medicines.

THE TAKING OF GAME AND FISH.

One hears less of deer snaring among the Yokuts than in the north; but they knew the device. Only, instead of setting the loop in a runway so as to encircle the neck, they laid it in a small concealed pit and fastened the end to a log.

Deer stalking with a deer's head as a decoy was shared with all the tribes of the north and central parts of the State. The Yokuts add that they painted their arms and breasts white like a deer's underside, and aided their traveling on all fours by holding a stick in each hand. When an animal was approached from the leeward, these sticks were rubbed together to produce the sound of a buck scraping his antlers.

Elk were too large to be snared, and in the open plains impossible to approach within bow range. They were chiefly secured in long-distance surrounds and drives called *tadnoush.*

Antelope were similarly hunted, the valley groups uniting for intertribal drives, in circles that must often have been many miles in diameter at the start. When the ring had narrowed down so

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Wukchumne

123 438 484 been made into a mass of partially decomposed granite, with an overburden of about ten feet of soil. Soon Ada grunted again, and the whole expedition gathered around her. With a sharpened stick, which she used to dig basketry roots, she was digging into the soft granite and removing chunks of a heavy [317] [135] blue-black material which she called *Kodeen* (Ko'-de-en). This, I have since been informed, is a form of crude graphite, which was deposited in crevices in the top of the granite.

386 While the rest dug, Ichow explained to me how the old-time Yokuts used to prepare paint from this material and how they used to paint with it after it was prepared. A fire of dry oak wood was burned down to a heap of red coals. Then the graphite was dumped into a hole in the center and covered with hot coals from the rim of the fire bed. This was left until the entire bed of coals was reduced to ashes. After the whole mass had cooled, the burned graphite was carefully removed and placed in a bag of tanned deer-skin. Ichow later burned some of the material we gathered that day, but he did not follow exactly his own directions.

When the wood had burned to a mass of red-hot coals, Ichow placed the graphite in a portion of the bottom of a broken cast-iron kettle and sank it in the coals where it soon became red-hot. Within a couple of hours he removed the container and set it aside to cool. When I examined the material I found that it had changed character and color. Instead of being composed of several lumps of hard, heavy, blue-black material, almost exactly like the Rising Sun Stove Polish in use when I was a boy, it had slacked into a fine, sooty, black powder, in appearance like commercial lamp-black, but heavier.

[302] In this manner was gathered and prepared the black paint for which the ceremonies of the Yokuts tribes were famous. Officials who danced in these ceremonies painted their bodies black. In some tribes white stripes were painted across the chest and abdomen, vertical white stripes on the legs and arms, and large white spots on the face.

[439] White for this painting was prepared from diatomaceous earth, some of which was traded from Yokuts who lived in the [317] Coast Range of mountains. One deposit of this crude chalk lies near Lompoc and another near Crow Creek in Western Stanislaus County. It provided a pure white pigment.

[824] Both of the above pigments were mixed with plant juices to form a paint. One of my authorities, *Pahmit*, a *Dumna*

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Wukchumne

Yokuts from Friant, informed me that his people used only oil from the seeds of the chilocothe, or wild cucumber. The other, Ichow, stated that the Wukchumnes mixed this oil with sap from the tall, blue-grey milkweed from which they gathered fiber for manufacturing string. This same sap was also made into chewing gum. In my own experience I have found such gum to be exceptionally durable, and anything but palatable.

Crowned with the standard Yokuts *Juk* (Jook), or dance headdress, the dancers were certainly spectacular performers when they surrounded the glowing fire during the annual dance for the dead. It is not surprising that pioneer whites who saw this dance likened the performers to dancing skeletons.

After about ten pounds of graphite had been gathered, Ada grunted again and the entire party began searching the soil above the decomposed granite. Then came another grunt and again we all gathered about her. She dug from the soil a round hard nodule of light-colored clay. In about two hours three of these nodules were excavated and, together with the graphite, were loaded into the car among the thirteen pairs of feet.

Where the grocery store had once stood at the old ghost village of Aukland we unloaded again and ate our picnic lunch in the shade of an oak tree. Ada murmured a few soft Yokuts words and Ichow explained for her that the old buildings just below us were once the home of Perry Byrd, father of Mollie Byrd who became the wife of the famous outlaw and train bandit, Chris Evans. When the Ichows first saw Chris he was working for Tulare County. He came along with a road grader and interrupted their work when they were gathering black paint material.

As we ate our lunch, Ichow explained to me that for many generations his people had visited the place, which they called *Hututdu* (Hoo'-too-doo), Hoot-Owl Place, to gather the material for black paint and the clay for making pottery. Although the deposits were in the range of the Wuksatche tribe, "They were our good friends and they let us come and dig whenever we wanted to. We had a big picnic when we came and traded basket roots, just like we do today," said Ichow.

Our work and lunch had delayed us until it was almost two o'clock in the afternoon; so I told the Indians we would have to hurry, as I had a dinner engagement in Tulare. In less than a minute all were packed in the car and we were on the road to

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CHAPTER IV

DRESS AND COMMUNICATIONS

YOKUTS MEN'S DRESS

291 If one is expecting a lengthy and detailed account of an extensive wardrobe worn by the various Yokuts tribes, he is doomed to disappointment. In dress they are often unfavorably compared with the Great Plains Indians. To do justice to these people, however, it must be known that the Great Plains Indians, with the exception of a few members of each tribe, did not appear as we are in the habit of seeing them pictured.

291 114 Probably the motion picture has been most responsible for the misinformation which has been spread about Indians. Pictures have been made in which we are assured that as many as two thousand Indians have been employed in the cast. From what one sees in the picture, one would never know but that every tribe was composed of at least nineteen hundred and ninety-nine chiefs and one common, ordinary Indian.

291 The elaborate dress and head dress which is so commonly placed upon the pictured Indian was worn by probably not more than six men in a tribe of two thousand Indians. Another Indian of that tribe, when he was not entitled to it, would have taken his own life before he would have placed the head dress of a chief upon his head.

The common citizen of the Great Plains tribes did not appear a great deal unlike the average Yokuts Indians, the principal difference [142] being that the San Joaquin Valley natives were shorter and heavier and generally wore no foot covering of any sort. When the Spanish brought horses, hats and boots among [177] them, they took the Spanish words for those articles and still use them when speaking their own language.

● 302 The men wore their hair long, but probably did not braid it until after they became acquainted with white people. They bound their hair into two coils somewhat resembling braids. These hung in front of the shoulders over each ear. Most often the hair was allowed to hang loose, being thrown back over the shoulders. It was held in place by a string wrapped around the head just above the eye-brows. This string was generally [283 made from the fiber of the milk weed, and had woven into it 237] sacred down from the breast of the eagle, or from the red-tailed hawk.

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tailed hawk. Into the hair at the back of the head and under the string might be thrust several feathers. These feathers might be in natural colors, or white goose feathers dyed red, yellow, or blue. Beads of periwinkle shell, or of steatite, were hung around the neck, or fastened into the coils of hair.

Sometimes the ears were pierced, this practice being carried to such an extreme that in some instances, we are told, the rim would be almost separated from the rest of the ear and stretched so that it hung almost to the shoulder. As much as a pound of ornaments might be suspended from these rings of flesh. At least upon the occasions of ceremonies, the face and other parts of the body were painted.

The only article commonly worn by men, which could be considered as clothing, was a breech clout (*nong-itch'-un*), supported by a gee string (*wuh-suk'-un*). This apparel was worn much in the same manner as was that of the Great Plains Indians. The breech clout was generally cut from a deer skin. It was about four feet or more in length. Both gee string and breech clout were placed behind the wearer and the two ends of the gee string brought to the front, where they were held by one hand, while with the other, the loose end of the breech clout was brought between the legs to the front. While the end of the breech clout was held under the chin, the gee string was tied around the waist over it. Then the end of the breech clout was allowed to fall downward, forming a small apron. This apron might be painted several colors, a design peculiar to the tribe or family of the individual, or it might be left plain.

During extremely cold weather the skin of a mountain lion, deer, or wild cat might be thrown about the shoulders and pinned in place. But this would only be during a period of actual storm or cold and was not a common procedure. No other apparel of any sort was deemed necessary. Several tribes say that there is in their language no word for foot covering of any sort. The *Wukchumne* word for such was *Wong-kud'-uh*, and their elk-skin moccasin had a loose, boot-like leg which was tied just below the knee.

We are told by Indian as well as white pioneers that in the early days no foot covering was necessary, for the San Joaquin Valley floor was covered with grass as soft and comfortable to the foot as a velvet carpet. We are told that all of the plants of today which would in any way make barefoot

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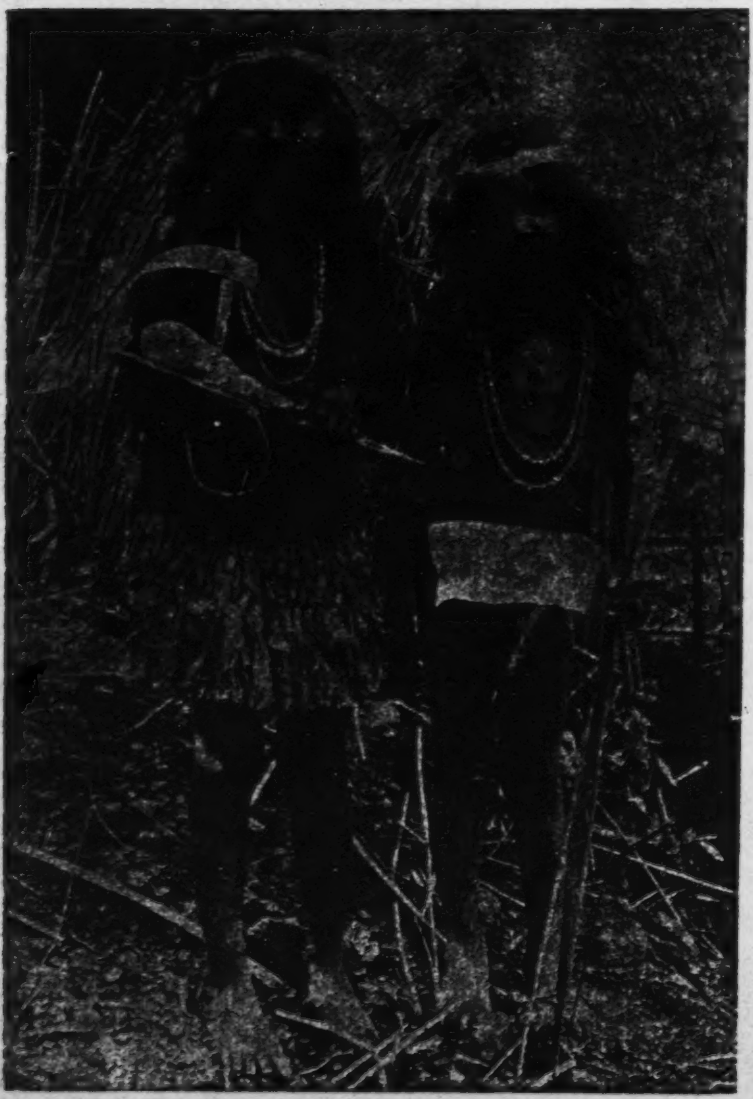

Lewumit and Hawtoy, dressed in native costumes made by their grandparents, Ichow and Wahnomkot. The beads are of Indian manufacture, of steatite and shell materials. They were constructing the tule house which appears in the background.

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travel uncomfortable were brought by the white man. It is probable that in some instances, particularly in rocky, brushy country, some sort of moccasin was used.

It is interesting to pass along the roads of the San Joaquin Valley with the Indians of the older generation and have them point out the plants which came with the white man and those which are "old timers." Among the introduced plants are fox tail, cockle burrs, Spanish thistle, puncture vine, sand burrs and many others, any one of which would have forced into the language of all Yokuts Indians a word for some sort of foot covering.

YOKUTS WOMEN'S DRESS

As regards dress, the Yokuts woman was, until the year just passed and the coming of the "new look," quite modern, short skirts and no stockings having been in style for many years before Hollywood modes were adopted. Painting was not unknown, although it was often done in permanent form by tattooing.

The Yokuts women often wore bangs and allowed the remainder of the hair to hang loose over the shoulders, or gathered and tied it behind the neck. Young unmarried women are said to have made themselves more attractive by separating the hair at the back and forming it into two wrapped coils, bound by strings of beads or other bright ornaments. This practice was called *pin-ke'-itch*. They sometimes wrapped string around their heads and stuck feathers under it at the back of the head. In this they followed very closely the ancient customs of their red sisters throughout America.

When in mourning for a brother, sister, father, mother, husband, or grandparent, it was in some tribes customary for Yokuts women to bob their hair. It was cut off short across the back, sometimes by means of a piece of glowing sycamore bark, the hair being clamped between the parts of a split stick. They called this operation *hu-pahn'-mas*. [during the period of mourning there was a tabu against washing, or bathing and the eating of meat]. The hair removed was tied to a rock and thrown in a deep hole in the river. I have been assured by individuals of tribes among whom I have worked, that none of their people would have used or even preserved hair removed in this way; this in spite of the fact that I have found in Yokuts graves numerous lengths of cord, made of twisted human hair.

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Over the cheeks was applied a mixture of powdered charcoal and pine pitch. This badge of mourning was sometimes allowed to remain in place for approximately one year, or when a yearly mourning gathering and dance was held. This painting was done to accentuate the dirt which accumulated under the eyes while the mourners were constantly crying and could not wash. 302 765

The women, and men, too, sometimes perforated their noses (*tong-ok-e'-en*), and thrust through the openings a long slender piece of bone, or hardwood (*tong-ik'-un*) or the rim from an abalone shell. These ornaments were often six inches in length and are said to have added a note of sternness to the naturally impressive, dark-visaged natives. 304 301

Tattooing varied with the various tribes throughout the valley. They called it *ship'-ah wah'-shud*. It was accomplished by making cuts in the skin with sharp chips of stone and rubbing powdered charcoal into the cuts. 304

Tattooed designs consisted mostly of straight lines, both solid and composed of rows of dots. They occurred on the chin, across the cheeks from the corners of the mouth, and sometimes on the forehead. Each tribe doing this is said to have had its own distinctive design. 304 531

Women pierced their ears, (*pu'-wah he'-un*), and wore suspended from them beads, seashells, and other small ornaments, to a greater extent than did the men. Strings of beads were also worn about the neck and suspended with, or wrapped about, the hair. These beads were made of steatite, or of seashells, appearing white, or blue and bluish black. 304 301

Painting (*ship'-ah ush'-uh*) was probably common among the valley Yokuts tribes. Balls of paint have been found in graves at such widely separated points as the Los Baños Creek in western Merced county, the Alamo Solo in northwestern Kern county, and Grizzly Gulch in eastern Tulare county. They included three colors, red (*haw'-yow*), white (*huh-so'-sid*) and black (*wow'-won*), red being most common. 302 172

Several craniums have been found having the marks of paint upon them. As the flesh decayed, the color on the skin was deposited on the cheek bones. The colors used in these cases were red and white. There was some difference between the use of these ancient cosmetics and those applied by present white women of the valley. The Yokuts painted the face red

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302 and painted white stripes across it, exactly opposite to the 172a present practice.

291 Only the principal article of women's clothing remains to be described. This was a short skirt affair (*chong-ish'-un*), made in the form of two small aprons, a small one behind and a [237] smaller one in front. The skirt was made of various materials, deer skin, tules, hemp, rabbit skin, mud-hen skin, grass and bark being reported from different portions of the San Joaquin. It reached almost to the knees. Some of these skirts were weighted by small balls of asphaltum attached to the lower edge.

While present day Indians are quite careful about conforming to the white woman's standard of dress, they appreciate quite fully that the present tendency is decidedly toward the old Indian custom. Several years ago I took an Indian woman to several of the valley schools to give demonstrations in basket making. We arrived at one school during a period when both boys' and girls' physical education classes were in session. The boys were on their own courts playing basketball and wearing only trunks. The girls were on another court playing the same game, wearing middies and bloomers, but no stockings. During the demonstration, the Indian woman sat on the floor of the gymnasium where the program was being held. The front row of spectators was composed entirely of girls, none of whom wore stockings.

After the performance, and when about thirty miles of the return trip had been made, the Indian woman said, "Ugh!" At this I listened closely, because such an exclamation always preceded a heated statement. Following a long pause came again, [185] "Ugh! White people don't wear any more clothes than old-timer Indians. All style. They tell Indians you nasty, you dirty, you don't wear clothes. So Indians *wear* clothes. Indians all die. Now *white people* don't wear clothes. Maybe Indians nasty. White people nasty, too."

YOKUTS SUMMER VACATIONS

501 The most unique of all boats, or other structures for that mat-484 ter, built by Yokuts tribes and probably by other tribes on the Pacific Coast, were the great tule rafts built on Kings River and probably on other rivers in times past for summer migration to the lakes in the San Joaquin Valley. By residents of the San Joaquin who must spend the hot summer months at home,

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Weh-puk'-in and Ho'-we-un showing the interior of a Yokuts tule-thatched house and a bed. A shallow pit is filled with loose tules and covered with a tule mat. Covers consist of a doubled rabbit-skin blanket. Hanging from the house frame is a twined and a tule chawmish, or all-purpose hanging baskets. The large basket at the left shows kots, or obsidian arrow point. The one at the front right shows quail, arrow point and ants.

and meats and fish were suspended from the framework of the house overhead. In addition to these things was the usual collection of wild animal skins, prepared basketry materials, fiber for making string, and any amount of other raw materials from which were to be prepared the various articles necessary to the life of the Indians.

"At every permanent village occupied by two or three hundred Indians, there were probably from four or five to as many as a dozen of these larger semi-permanent houses. They were used for ten or twelve years, or until there was a death in the family, at which time the Indians burned the house in which the death occurred."

Often a sick or aged person was carried outside to die, so that it would not be necessary to burn the house. In 1937, *Ichow*, last Chief of the *Wukchumne*, died of dropsy after several days of exposure under a broiling July sun, because he

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Acorn granaries and a Chukaimina Indian woman in Squaw Valley about 1890. Note that her hair is bobbed in mourning. The Yokuts Indians were dying in such great numbers during the 1880's and '90's that few photos taken during that period show a woman without bobbed hair. Photo furnished by Jesse G. Pattee.

THE PREPARATION OF ACORNS

252 When she decided to prepare acorns, (*Putus*, poo'-tus), the *moke* (mo'-ke) took a flat bottomed basket (*kot'-chow*) of about half-bushel capacity, placed it under the granary, and pushed apart the grass and branches, allowing the acorns to slide from the granary into it. When the basket was full, the branches and grass were replaced, sealing the granary as it was before.

252 412 The acorns were taken to a cool, shady place and there were hulled. The hulling was done by means of a rock. This rock was generally a nicely shaped stone of a size to be easily grasped in the hand and known to collectors as a mano (Spanish word for hand stone), but called *ko'-dis*, or *wik'-sid*, by the In-

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Weh-puk'-in showing how acorn flour is leached. A shallow basin is scooped in the sand of a stream bed and lined with wild grapevine leaves. It is then filled with acorn flour. Hot water is poured over the flour until the bitterness has been leached into the sand below. The water is poured on a grass brush so that the flour will not be washed away.

soap-root husk. The tray was held with the edge over the mortar and shaken.

The coarse particles rolled into the mortar and the fine material remained on the tray. The fine material was shaken into a separate basket. This process was repeated until the acorns were reduced to a powder of about the consistency of coarse flour. This was then taken to the stream, where the bitter tannin was leached from it. 252

A hole was made in the sand, by the stream, lined with leaves, generally from the wild grapevines, and the acorn flour poured into it. Water was heated in a separate basket by means of hot rocks and poured over the flour. This process was repeated several times, the flour being tasted for sweetness after

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Wahnomkot, full-blood **Wukchumne** Yokuts from the Kaweah River east of Visalia. She is working in the old salt grass field near Guernsey, Kings County, where the Yokuts tribes have harvested salt from salt grass from time immemorial. On the ground is **toh'-mauk**, generally made of cottonwood twigs and put to innumerable uses. This is a good illustration of features, posture, and the way the salt grass is pulled. The fingers of her right hand are bandaged in order to prevent the grass from cutting them.

mixing them with the refined product. The method by which this is done is extremely interesting, and has several times been witnessed and photographed by the writer.

The most desirable location in the vicinity of Tulare Lake was an area about four miles northeast of Guernsey. This area has been utilized as a harvest field for salt grass for at least one hundred and fifty years, and probably much longer.

Harvesting is done during the later part of July, or the first of August. At about ten or eleven o'clock the globules of salt are partly dried, too dry to be smeared in picking, and too

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

basketry. Although this topic has been introduced in the preceding chapter, an entire volume would not exhaust it. It is necessary to consider it further here. The designs are always simple in nature, often symbolic and never unpleasing to the eye. There is nothing in connection with Indian basketry designs which conflicts with the well observed rules which underlie the white man's design. The striking effect of some of the most simple primitive designs is amazing—sometimes perfectly fascinating.

At the present time there are a few Yokuts basketry artists still at work. Their work resembles more the old unspoiled primitive forms than that of almost any other Indians, because the Spanish did not often penetrate to the eastern portion of the San Joaquin Valley, and the old mode of life was last overthrown there. There is now only one unspoiled Yokuts basket maker on the Kaweah River. There is also one on the San Joaquin River, as well as one or two on Kings River.

The old Yokuts seldom attempted anything but symbolic or conventional forms. Figures attempting to show birds, animals or persons in their true shape, were seldom used. This was remarkably good taste and shows a deep understanding of true art on the part of the basket makers, for they were working in a cross stitch type of reproduction and could not smoothly develop the form of a deer or a bird.

Some of the most common designs used on basketry represented the various snakes common to the San Joaquin Valley. These designs lent themselves very nicely to a coiled construction and their patterns proved well adapted to the materials used.

The Indian painted his spear, his bow and his arrows. The colors used were blues, reds, yellows, blacks and whites, juices of berries and other plants being used. The designs were genrally geometric. The marking on the arrows served a very practical, as well as artistic purpose. It was of importance to the hunter to be able to identify his own arrows. This was not only in connection with the proving of ownership of an arrow which had been shot into the brush, but also to prove who had killed certain game. Various colored lines were banded around the shaft and foreshaft of the arrow in the same way that modern archers mark their arrows.

Another form of art, probably as well developed as any other, had to do with the painting of the faces and bodies of the

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

Indian. Here again natural colors, often earth colors, were used and the paint was applied in thick coats, not only to the face but often to the arms, legs and bodies. Different designs were used in connection with different ceremonies. These varied somewhat among the numerous Yokuts tribes. In this way a great variety was worked out.

How common was painting on buckskin will probably never be known. In several graves where bodies had been cremated, I have found fragments of charred buckskin which showed quite plainly a painted design using at least two colors. How much of this sort of evidence has been destroyed by careless "digging" will never be known, but I am of the opinion that such art was at one time quite extensive.

Another form of art was developed in connection with the handles of soap root brushes, dice, wooden utensils, knives, ceremonial equipment and stone mortars. This consisted of coating the articles with asphaltum, or pitch, into which were pressed beads and bits of abalone shell. The beads used were generally of white sea shell and contrasted quite nicely with the black asphaltum. The writer has seen many examples of the above art, although almost all of them were in an advanced state of decomposition. The rims of mortars were sometimes coated with asphaltum and covered with beads and abalone shell and must have presented a rather pleasing appearance.

Due to the perishable nature of much of the old Yokuts equipment, a considerable amount of their art will probably never be known. How many other pieces of paraphernalia and peculiar but artistic creations have not been recorded can only be imagined. However, enough is known about their art and painting and applied designs to be certain that at least upon occasion the Yokuts Indian was able to dress himself up quite colorfully and was not the sombre, drab person that we perhaps imagine.

YOKUTS PAINTINGS

When white settlers first came to the San Joaquin Valley, one of the things which attracted their attention was the many Indian paintings which were common upon the walls of the rock shelters and caves along the Sierra foothills and at some places in the Coast Range. These paintings have been the subject of much speculation and some investigation, and a ready topic for many writers. From time to time various persons have claim-

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

THE RAINMAKING CEREMONY

789 Few San Joaquin Valley grain farmers, who have paid
791 white rainmakers to produce rain for their withering crops, know that rainmaking was a well established profession long before grain crops were planted in the San Joaquin. But such was the case, for there are numerous data recording that the business of rainmaking had become a profession among the Yokuts tribes. These data extend from one end of the San Joaquin Valley to the other, and also into the northern portion of Santa Clara County around the present towns of Mayfield and Mountain View, which is generally held to be a part of primeval Yokuts territory. This work has been carried on down to date. Not many years ago, a prominent *Tachi* Yokuts rain doctor passed away at Santa Rosa Rancheria, south of Lemoore. His Tachi name was *Si'-nel,* but he was known to surrounding white settlers as Indian Bob, the Rain Dancer.
[764] While this manuscript was being completed, Clarence Atwell, the last of these Yokuts doctors, died at the same rancheria, his dance costume being buried with him.

Because of the continued scarcity of water in the territory that was once Yokuts and the great efforts being made to provide more of it, the Rainmaking Ceremony is of more interest to present San Joaquin Valley residents than anything else concerning the Yokuts.

Dressed in his feather skirt and headdress, his body painted dead black and striped with bright white, the Yokuts rain-
[292 302] maker surely was a weird figure. He danced in the night about a fire and sang his magic song. In this he was aided by *Ahanich,* paid singers, and was assisted by other rain-desiring tribesmen.

789 To the surrounding white settlers of the 1860's, whose dry-
648 ing crops needed rain more than did the Tachi, the Rain Doctor appeared only as a dangerous Indian Chief, inciting his people to attack the whites. From John Ezra, of Kings River Island, near Laton, I learned that it was because of this fear on the part of the whites that the Tachi for a long time gave up their rain dances.

789 Connected with the rain making ceremony was a magic
778 stone, which, when properly invoked by song and dance, could produce anything from a sprinkle to a cloudburst. It could bring luck in fishing and could bring water into dry stream-channels. A photograph, reproduced in this volume, shows

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

"But Puslilin already got one hundred dollars silver pay, so he go 'head anyway. Them Uhdukut snake doctors got to pay Puslilin that money. It take almost all money them doctors got from doctorin' them people. But they got to pay him anyway to show they can sure cure snake bite. Chechin tell Puslilin, 'Well, you goin'to die tonight'. Puslilin squeeze that snake head and throw it on the ground. It strike him on both hands. Then that Uhdukut take his snake and put it back in his Tawits basket. Then Puslilin fall down.

"Two Uhdukut doctors take Puslilin to his bed where that squirrel fall. They begin to doctor him. They work on him all night. They tie one *pisasin*, eagle down string, around each arm below his shoulder. Then doctors have all them people yell so Puslilin can't go to sleep and die. About sun-up Puslilin get better, so all them people stop yellin'. But Puslilin lost one finger that rattlesnake bit."

Tawpnaw, an aged Wukchumne, saw six rattlesnake dances. His story verifies those of Ichow and Pohut and adds a few details which are related below:

"When them Wukchumne snake doctors get ready for that rattlesnake dance they paint their faces. They paint white and red stripes across faces. They put three red and three white stripes on each cheek. Some tribe doctors paint stripes across arms, chest, too.

"When that dance all over, them people don't get snake-bit all summer. If Indian man hunt deer, rattlesnake won't bite him. If Indian woman gather seeds, rattlesnake won't bite 'em. If rattlesnake do bite 'em, them Indian snake doctor got to cure 'em free.

"Them Indian snake doctors keep snakes in *awsuh* [bottle-necked stitched baskets]. When they first catch snakes they put 'em in chawmish [blackberry gathering twined basket]. I see that all time. I know that's right."

As this manuscript is being completed there is one Yokuts man living who attended the rattlesnake dances and who remembers how they were conducted. He is *Wahumchah*, a Yowlumne. He adds to the foregoing descriptions the rattlesnake doctor's song. This song is about a rattlesnake who is crawling on the ground and looking up at a magpie nest in a tree. He wants to eat the young birds in the nest, but he cannot climb the tree. Wahumchah has explained that the Yokuts songs do not have the same words as the rest of the language.

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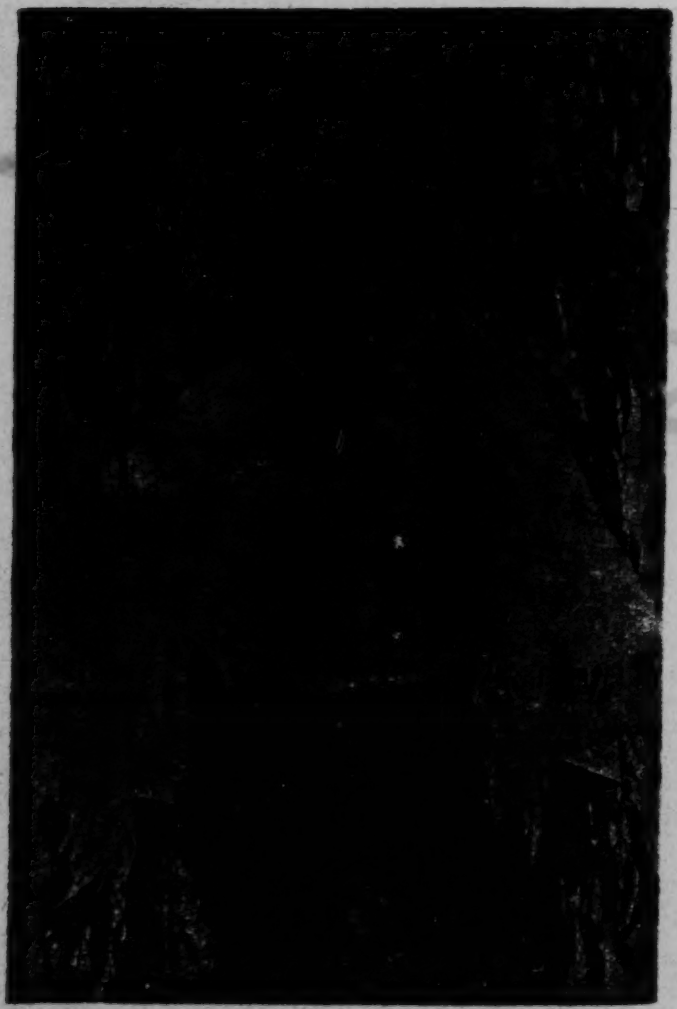

The late Yel'-mut, last full-blood survivor of the Chunut (Choo'-noot) tribe from the northeast shore of Tulare Lake. She spoke seven languages and could read and write both Spanish and English. She dictated to the author many stories and songs that she had memorized. She was the historian of her tribe and the best informer of all races that the author has interviewed. Notice the scares on the bridge of her nose, the result of cuts made by Indian medicine men. She passed away at Hanford.

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159 There was a big brush shade around where they danced.
769 The company camped under this shade. It was a long shade. The place inside was about 100 steps across. There was a big fire in the middle. It was down by the creek west of the "Fish" Rice house a little way on the south side of the creek just south of where the roads cross now. The old cemetery was just north across the creek.

The Winatun worked for the chief and told the people
[624] where to camp when they came. There were lots of tribes
[SN] there. I remember people from the Tachi, Yokodo, Chunut, Kaweah, Choinok, *Wolase, Wukchumne, Koyeti, Yaudanchi, Wuksahche, Nutunutu, Wowol* and *Telumne* tribes.

The Winatun gave each people their grub when they came. They had some grub along, but the people at Sulawlahne had to give all of the meat and most of the rest of the grub. We bought cows to eat from "Fish" Rice. I remember that there were two cows hanging up at once. We had some deer meat, and antelope and elk too. Our hunters killed a lot during the week of the Lonewis, but we had to have lots of beef besides. This meat was to eat after the Lonewis was over.

Pleas Work was there with his Indian Wife. She was a
[55] *Pahd-wishi*. Her name was *Haw'-nick* (Measuring Worm). She was a very pretty woman, but we were afraid of Pleas. He was a bad man. He killed lots of Indians. He only stayed two days. We liked it better after he left.

Our *Chumlus* (Choom'-loos) had all of our clothes to put
[302] on us after we washed. My mother had painted her cheeks with black paint and had cut her hair off when my father
[317] died. We got the black paint [graphite] from a hill by the place you call Stokes Mountain. We burned it before we
[152] used it. We cried almost all of the time until the Lonewis. All of the time after my father died we did not eat any meat until
[262] after the Lonewis was over.

My mother had paid our Chumlus the money for the
[55] clothes. Mother had not changed clothes since my father died. We had not spoken my father's name. After the Lonewis was over the Chumlus had to wash us and put our clean new clothes on us. Then we could all be happy again.

As soon as we camped, my mother began fixing the man to burn in the fire at the Lonewis. She had saved her money for a year and had bought a good suit of clothes at Mr. Sweet's store

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"Old Brin," an aged, blind Wukchamma, showing a typical Yokuts head of coarse, heavy black hair bobbed in mourning, also a terribly embarrassed granddaughter. Photo, taken about 1900, was furnished by Jesse G. Pattee.

in Visalia. She paid sixteen dollars for it. She had a good hat, shoes, socks, and underwear.

Mother stuffed the clothes with tules and fastened them together so they looked like a man. She painted the face. Then

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Ah-hah-now'-uh *We-ah'-hah*
Ah-hah-now'-uh *We-ah'-ah-hah*
(We are crying)
Wuk'-e le'-o *We-ah'-ah-hah*
(We cry again) (We are crying)
Ah-hah-now'-uh *We-ah'-ah-hah*

When the song was done they all clapped their hands together and pointed at each other in time with each other.

They had men to lead the singing. All the people sang together. The lead singers were called *Ah-ha'-nitch.* We paid them to sing. There were about six at my father's Lonewis. They were painted black on their face, and stomach, too. They had white spots on their face and white stripes across their stomach.

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All of the time until the Lonewis was over, all day and all night, some one was singing, someone was crying, someone was dancing.

The second night the *Hohuno* (Ho-hoo'-no) danced. This was the first night the big fire was lit. Hohuno was dressed in a long pretty blue dress that covered his head and reached to the ground. The Winatun dressed him. We children were all afraid of him. His Indian name was *Huyupah* (Hoo-yoo'-pah).

The part of the dress that went over Honuno's head was made of the smooth skin and feathers from a fish crane. It fitted close to his head and was so smooth not a feather was out of place, except two feather horns on each side like a horned owl. On the front were fastened two large round pieces of abalone shell for eyes. They were just above his eyes. He had peek-holes right under them. When he came close to us he would lean over and look at us with those big eyes and we would almost die.

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From the shoulder down the dress was loose. Long, blue wing feathers from fish cranes were fastened to a loose skirt of strings. These feathers could swing loose as Hohuno danced. They were fastened about the middle so they would fly around like birds when he danced.

On his back, fastened across his shoulders, was a stick. About ten short pieces of bamboo hung loose from the stick. The pieces of bamboo were the size of a pencil, maybe a little bigger. When he danced, Hohuno would jerk his shoulders and make the bamboo sticks rattle together.

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Jennie, an aged **Wukchumne**, and her granddaughter. This photo is of importance because the granddaughter has on the bridge of her nose the marks of fresh cuts made by a medicine man. Her grandmother has on her nose the scars of such **doctoring**. Both have their hair bobbed in mourning. Jennie was a **Chumlus** at the great Eshom Valley Ghost Dance. Photo, taken about 1890, was furnished by Jesse G. Pattee.

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Then you bury your father, mother, maybe your wife. You put everything in ground and all decay. We *burn* good clothes and they *do not* decay. They go to *Tih-pik'-nits Pahn* [the hereafter] so our dead person always has good clothes to wear. What do you think?

On the sixth morning everyone was dancing when *Tow-ahn'-itch*, the morning star, was beginning to fade and it was getting daylight. The Teah called, "He'-ahm tahn'-hin," and everyone ran to the creek to be washed. The dancing and singing and crying of the Lonewis was over. We could be washed and dressed in our new clothes and have a big feast of meat and let our hair grow again.

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The *Chumlus* had our new clothes and new baskets to wash us in. She washed my mother and me. We took off our clothes

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

159 291 cape in place. A feather made a good pin. It never came out and it was easy to get.

They also used a kind of cap, or hood, in real cold weather. It was made of rabbit skin. I never saw but two or three of them. We had cloth caps, or bonnets, when I was a girl.

159 304 Lots of the old Chunut people made a hole through their nose and put a bone or stick through it. They called the hole in their nose *so-kil'-hah rah*. The nose stick was *traw-raw'-ke*.

Some Indians made black marks on their faces, too. They [134] cut their faces with a *kots* (obsidian) arrow point, and rubbed powdered charcoal in it. You white people call this tattoo. [302] But I do not think the Chunut ever did this. They painted their face marks. For painting they used red, white, and black paint.

159 386 438 The black paint was called *sih'-mik*. We traded for it. It came from near Stokes Mountain. We used to burn it and grind it in a small mortar. It was black and shiny [graphite]. Some of the Indian doctors used the sihmik to paint for their dances, but I do not know just how they used it. That was their own business. When somebody died in our family we painted [765] our cheeks under our eyes with sihmik and the *Chumlus* (Choom-loos) washed it off after the *Lonewis* (Lo-ne'-wis).

159 531 The men used to paint their bows and arrows. They used red, white, and black. and some other color they got from berries. I never knew how to do that.

[346] The old-time Chunut Indians once told me that they used to paint some of their baskets, too, but I never saw them. The old-time Chunut baskets were not nice like the Wukchumne baskets. We made them out of tules. We bought the mountain [438] Indian baskets from the Indians who made them.

159 372 The Chunuts made fire with two sticks. They called them *toom*. One stick they held on the ground with their feet. The other they rolled between their hands. They called this rolling *wa-li'-uh*. When the sticks got hot they put ground dry tule dust in to make fire. They called this dust *pel-pel'-its*.

YOIMUT'S STORY
CHUNUT SONGS AND GAMES

159 524 533 My people had lots of songs and games. Sometimes there were two or three songs for each game. They had a nice smooth place at their village where somebody played games all the time. They had lots of fun.

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Lewaynit and Hawtey, dressed in native costumes made by their grandparents, Ichow and Wehnemhet. Lewaynit was a good student. During her first year in school, where all other children were white, she completed two years of work in one and stood at the head of her class. She died of tuberculosis while in her Sophmore year at Exeter High School.

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early settlers. Even Padre Garces mentioned bathing himself only once and that was when he crossed Kern River. He wrote on May 1st, 1776: "They [the Indians] convoyed me across between four of them by swimming, two taking me by the arms, and the other two by the body; whereupon I took advantage of the occasion to bathe at my pleasure in that water so limpid and beautiful."

No person who did not see the Yokuts Indians before 1854 or '55 really knows much about their conditions of living before they were turned out of practically every one of their old village sites.

It appears to me no more unfair to steal a man's money and then to call him a pauper than to drive an Indian from the means of keeping himself presentable and then to call him dirty.

According to repeated testimony, the old Yokuts were true to each other, provident, kind to their families, honest to a fault, temperate, and good citizens within their social group. For some reason I have always felt that if they fulfilled these requirements, a moratorium might be in order regarding the matter of the Saturday night bath. It is proper to record here in support of these last statements that while on Kern River Padre Garces wrote on May 1st, 1776: "The young men are fine fellows, and the women very comely and clean, bathing themselves every little while; they take great care of their hair and do it up in a topknot; they wear petticoats of antelope skin and mantas of fur, though they are not very coy."

This is Garces' third mention of bathing by Yokuts.

At another rancheria in the same locality he wrote on May 2nd: "In this rancheria I found that the little damsels went naked; and though in other parts the same occurred among the women grown, I have not seen in them all an immodest action."

At the present time it is probable that the Indian is receiving the best treatment he has ever receivd at the hands of our government. It is possible that the next few years are to bring even better treatment than they are now receiving. This is a matter of great satisfaction to those white persons who have lived in close contact with the Indians and who have recognized their fine qualities, but it needs some explanation to be appreciated by others.

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
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tion. His position was acquired by heredity. Normally the office passed from an elder brother to the next younger, and then reverted to the elder brother's eldest son.[22] This rule was not rigid, however, and was modified in accordance with circumstance. When a chief became too enfeebled with sickness or age to continue his duties he would say whom he wanted to take his place. If his choice was acceptable to the other chiefs and elder men of the village, a gift of money was sent to the nominee. The man chosen did not have to accept the office unless he wished to.

The chief's house was perhaps larger than that of others but not necessarily or markedly so. Neither was the dress of a chief or of the members of his family distinctive. Powers states that chiefs wore their hair long, but so did all men, according to my informants.[23] The food storehouses of the chief were always well filled. He did not hunt himself. Food was provided for the chief's family by young hunters in the village. Such men were not permanently appointed for the task, but would be dispatched by the winatums to get fresh meat or fish for the chief. Informants disagree as to whether the chief paid for his provisions or not, but the weight of evidence indicates that he did not. The chief had to have a plentiful food supply for it was his duty to offer a meal to every traveler, foreign messenger, or stranger, who entered his village. Furthermore, the chief or his wife gave meat to extremely poor people or those who had difficulty in obtaining sufficient food, as the aged or widowed. Such people would accept the food and if possible would return a little acorn meal to the chief when they had an extra supply. A basket might be given in return. Such a return was prompted by courtesy and gratitude, and was not compulsory.

The Chunut (Y) informant described feasts given by the chief.[24] These apparently were non-ceremonial—primitive dinner parties perhaps.

Kanti, the chief, had a big house on a hill near this rancheria. Many people could get in there; it was where he lived. He held parties there. His wife and other old ladies would gather seeds and cook them. Any stranger might go regardless of his moiety affiliation. Every guest brought some food with him, but the chief paid him a little money for it. This was just for a good time. Nobody paid the chief (as was done at the mourning ceremony). After dinner some men might dance and women with them: witi hatim tupan toino (little dance half night). Such dancers dressed up or not just as they liked, wearing a feather headdress or skirt, or painting their faces.

[22] See genealogy, Western Mono, Wakaachi 1, and Yokuts; Entimbich, Appendix.
[23] *Op. cit.*, 371.
[24] Josie Alonzo; see Appendix.

7:Powers J-5 (1871-1876) 1877 NS29 Yokuts NS29

pine sugar, hold them before the fire until it is melted, then lay them gently on the abdomen of the parturient. The sweat-house everywhere prevails, of course, but it is smaller among these southern out-door people than it is farther north, being never used for a council-house or a dance-house.

The rain-maker, or wizard, though very potent, can be put to death by vote of a council, in case a patient dies under his treatment. Occasionally the manner of his taking-off is still more tragic. The Mono, being unsophisticated mountaineers, originally had no professional wizards, and in 1864 a Yokuts, named Sacate, went up from the plains to them, and for a time prosecuted an extremely lucrative practice. But he finally lost a case, and thereupon the simple and sincere Mono, being unable to comprehend how a man whose function was to save life could lose it and be guiltless, crushed in his skull with a stone.

These wizards sometimes chew the seeds of the jimson-weed (*Datura meteloides*) to induce delirium, which their dupes regard as the touch of an unseen power, and their crazy ravings as divinely-inspired oracles. It is related that an ambitious wizard once chewed too much seed and yielded up the ghost.

An old Indian, named Chu-chu'-ka, relates that many years ago there was a terrible plague which raged on both sides of the Fresno, destroying thousands of lives. According to his account it was a black-tongue disease. Abundant evidences of his truthfulness have been discovered in the shape of bones. A man named Holt was digging a ditch on Ray's ranch, near Sand Creek, and found such an immense number of bones about eighteen inches under the surface that, after digging three hundred yards, he was forced to abandon the undertaking. On Hildreth's ranch, near Pool-of-Water, a large box of human bones was collected in making a garden.

It is the custom of the wizards to hold every spring the rattlesnake dance (*ta-tu'-lo-wis*), which is a source of great profit to the cunning rogues. They plant green boughs in a circle, inclosing a space fifty or sixty yards in diameter, wherein the performances are held, as are most of the Yokuts' dances. The great audience is congregated in the middle, while the wizards dance around the circle, next to the arboreal wall. Besmeared with numerous and fantastic streaks of paint, and gorgeously topped with feath-

7:Powers J-5 (1871-1876) 1877 NS29 Yokuts NS29

ers, four of them caper around like clowns in a circus, chasing each other, chanting, brandishing rattlesnakes in their hands, twining them about their arms, and suffering them to bite their hands. It is supposed that they have either plucked their fangs, or have not allowed them to drink any water for a number of days beforehand, which is said to render them harmless. But the credulous savages believe them invulnerable, and they eagerly press forward with their offerings, in return for which the wizards give them complete immunity from snake-bites for the space of a year. The younger Indians, somewhat indoctrinated in American ideas, have become sadly skeptical and heretical in regard of these dances, which they contemptuously term "skunk meetings", to the great scandal of their pious elders.

Formerly the step danced by the men on most occasions might not inappropriately be called the piston-rod dance, as they seemed intent on driving their legs alternately into the earth. Of late they have adopted from the Mono the grand walk-round, in a single circle, men and women together, and with an entirely different and less violent step.

Although they have a form of war-dance, and the Chukchansi warred a great deal with the Pohonichi of old, as a race they are peaceful, and they take no scalps. But of late years, under the aggravation of aggressions by white men, they have adopted from the warlike Mono the red paint (instead of black), which has so terrible a significance in a savage dance, and the appearance of which always makes the frontiersmen uneasy. From them, also, they have learned to talk of war, to bluster, to threaten darkly, to hold secret conclaves far within the depths of the mountains, from which the whites were rigidly excluded. But nothing has come of them. These things are foreign to the peaceful Yokuts, and the Monos, though they are supposed to have attempted it many times, have never succeeded in screwing their neighbors' courage up to the sticking-point of joining them in a war on the whites.

Nowadays $20 or $30 in gold is paid for a wife, but this only for a virgin. For a widow or a maid suspected of unchastity no man will pay anything or make any presents; and it is due to the Yokuts to state that a pioneer who has lived among them twenty-one years affirms that before the arrival of the Americans they were comparatively virtuous. Dr. E. R. Bate-

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to come to the mission or Presidio as they had enemies of their own in the intervening territory. But after disposing of their fears and [telling them?] that they could come when they liked, Josaps promised me that he would come to Monterey next spring. For which, and for his protection among the outposts where he would cross, I gave him a pass, which was greatly appreciated.

They presented to me as gifts various baskets [*coras*], flour [*pinole*], and grain [*arroz*], but having nothing with which to return their kindness, I did not accept them, saying that I had no means of carrying the things. I only took three measures [*almudes*] of grain and gave them some corn flour. As they asked that the soldiers be allowed to go about I permitted it. They went in parties in charge of the sergeant and corporals, and with orders to take no more than a taste of the foods and that which was given them. Thus it was done, and they were well satisfied.

At 12 that day a captain from the Ranchería of Notontos [Nutununtu] arrived, who was presented to me by the others at the gathering, and then retired with them.

At 1 P.M. there came for the fiesta from the interior of the Sierra Nevadas, 4 captains from a ranchería named Apalame. Their names were Cholmuk [copy of Nov. 19: Chomulk], Gilmosts, Ogmost, and Gulstos. With them were 69 men and 42 women. Though they had never seen soldiers they made no novelty of it, for Josaps had sent word saying that they might come without fear, as we were friends. The men arrived making skirmishes with their bows and arrows, killing dogs and chickens [*gallinas*] with permission from the Chischas, and afterward paid the latter with beads. Then they commenced to eat them with great pleasure.

[Copy of Nov. 19: In the conversation which I had with the captain, Josaps, he told me that he and his people went up on the hills of the Sierra to gather pine nuts, and that in some places there were uplands of good earth where one could easily go on horseback, but it was very far. From the people of the interior I learned some particulars of the people who live on the other side, who, they told me, gather their harvest of pine nuts and seeds from both sides (?, *en ambas vandas*), but that they themselves did not go far into the mountains for the inhabitants were very bad people. There are three ranges of mountains, though not so great as these (on the west slope of the Sierra) where there are very large acorn-bearing oak trees. They had never seen people like us before.]

I was urged many times to remain with them over night, which was that of the weeping, and for the dance on the following day. [Copy of Nov. 19: Their captain Josaps, as I have said, is making the funeral celebration which was carried out (*compone*) in the following way. They gathered in little groups with faces blackened, and giving most lamentable wails with exaggerated grief, so they passed the night. On the day following they washed themselves, and painted, and formed dancing groups by rancherías. The master of the fiesta, after giving them a feast of fish caught in the river, deer